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THE MOSLEM WORLD

A quarterly review of current events, literature, and thought among Mohammedans and the progress of Christian Missions in Moslem lands

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THE MOSLEM WORLD

VOL. VII JANUARY, 1917 NO. 1

EDITORIALS

PAST AND FUTURE

WHEN the first number of this magazine was published, six years ago, the question was asked, is there a place for a new quarterly concerning the Moslem world? Attention was called then to the already enormous bibliography on the subject of Islam, both historical, philosophical, and missionary; but its very existence was urged as proof that the opportunity had come for an English quarterly review of current events, literature and thought among Mohammedan peoples as they affect the Church of Christ and her missionary program. We then stated: "If the Churches of Christendom are to reach the Moslem world with the Gospel, they must know of it and know it. The Cairo Conference (1906) marked a new era in the attitude of Christian missions toward the subject. This Conference, through its reports and the missionary literature resulting from it, made clear the unity, the opportunity, and the importunity of the task of evangelising Moslems everywhere. Missionary leaders felt that the Church was called to a deeper study of the problem, as well as to a more thorough preparation of its missionaries and a bolder faith in God, in order to solve it. To this end there is need for a common platform, a common forum of thought; a common organ for investigation and study.

"As an outcome, therefore, of the deep interest manifested at the World Missionary Conference at Edinburgh in June last, and to conserve, continue and interpret its deliberations on this subject, as well as to bind

together all those who love Mohammedans and labour for their welfare, THE MOSLEM WORLD greets its readers.

"Its aim is to represent no faction or fraction of the Church, but to be broad in the best sense of the word. Its columns are open to all contributors who hold the 'unity of the faith in the bond of peace and righteousness of life.' It is not a magazine of controversy, much less of compromise. 'In essentials unity, in non-essentials liberty, in all things charity.' We hope to interpret Islam as a world-wide religion in all its varied aspects and its deep needs, ethical and spiritual; to point out and press home the true solution of the Moslem problem, namely, the evangelisation of Moslems; to be of practical help to all who toil for this end; and to awaken sympathy, love and prayer on behalf of the Moslem world until its bonds are burst, its wounds are healed, its sorrows removed, and its desires satisfied in Christ.

"To this end we invite the cordial co-operation of all those who have made special study of any phase of Islam, or who can from their own experience show others how to win Moslems to Christ."

Six years have passed and as we reiterate these words we record our deep gratitude to God for his constant help and favour in the task of securing more intelligent interest in this most difficult of all missionary problems, and of bringing closer together the various groups that are willing to give expert study to its solution.

During the years past we have been able to offer our readers the results of the scholarly investigation of leaders in this realm of thought, such as: Mrs. S. Bobrovnikoff, Prince Leone Cætani, L. Cheikho, Canon W. H. T. Gairdner, Rev. William Goldsack, Ignaz Goldziher, Dr. H. D. Griswold, M. Hartmann, Dr. C. Snouck Hurgronje, Father Henri Lammens, Prof. A. Le Chatelier, Enno Littmann, Prof. D. B. Macdonald, Dr. D. S. Margoliouth, Louis Massignon, Prof. Karl Meinhof, Dr. Adolf Mingana, Prof. E. Montet, Dr. Edward Sell, Prof. Gottfried Simon, Dr. W. St. Clair Tisdall, Dr. H. U. Weitbrecht, Dr. E. M. Wherry and many other distinguished scholars and missionaries. Our program for the

future has not changed from that which was announced in the first number, January 1911. The QUARTERLY is intended for special students and not for the general reader. It aspires to do for the English reader what *Der Islam* and *Die Welt des Islams* have done for the German people and the *Revue du Monde Mussulman* for France and its colonies. We desire to maintain the truly scientific character of our QUARTERLY and make it invaluable for every serious student of Islam—whether government-official, missionary or teacher of comparative religion. This circle of possible readers is not large, we admit, but it is constantly growing in numbers and influence. Our legitimate constituency is most of all among those who are actually dealing with the social, intellectual and spiritual needs of the Moslem world—the missionaries. The future of the QUARTERLY, therefore, depends most of all upon their hearty co-operation. Assured of this we begin a new volume in the midst of the unparalleled world-struggle which so deeply affects Islam, with confidence and hope.

S. M. ZWEMER.

Cairo, 1916.

THE GOSPEL AND THE MOSLEM MIND

THE results of our preaching to Moslems are not entirely satisfactory. It is probably futile to hope that any possible type of preaching will produce ideal results. None the less, it remains true that we lack any real understanding of the Moslem mind, and equally we lack any definite idea as to how the Gospel may best be presented to him. Different men are best reached by different aspects of the Gospel, and if we want to win the Moslem to Christ, we should know the general character of preaching, and the general aspect of Christian truth, which will appeal best to the Moslem mind.

We have made some progress toward such an understanding, of some of the races for which missionary work is done. Possibly the finest study of the sort, is that contained in Warneck's book, "The Living Forces of the

Gospel," where the problem of the animistic mind is worked out. It is a book which every missionary ought to have, if for no other reason, to indicate the type of work that needs to be done, for all of our great missionary fields.

No such piece of work has been done, so far as I know, for the Moslem field, and it is to report a tentative effort to begin to supply the deficiency, that this article is written. The patients in the Hospital were the objects of the study. In this way we were able to have a large number of receptive Moslems under observation for a length of time, sufficient to make possible some real study of the Moslem mind.

The plan was to have some aspect of the Gospel presented to each patient, in a personal, friendly way, every day, and to have the results of every such interview recorded. At the end of the year, the records were studied and the results tabulated. The Gospel was presented in various ways. What might be termed the dogmatic presentation was attempted; the idea of sin and the need of salvation; the holiness of God and the need for forgiveness. The historical presentation was tried, Christ's Birth, His Works, His Death, and His Resurrection. The Parables were arranged in an order of a sort, and the Gospel presented by means of them. Records of all these personal interviews were kept, and it could not be said that any one of them seemed especially suited to the Moslem mind. Courteous, somewhat bored, attention was the rule, real interest the rare exception.

We did find one particular aspect of Christian truth, however, which really seemed to penetrate deeper than anything else, and not only to rouse interest, but to arouse something deeper than mere interest. This was what might be termed the mystical aspect of Christian truth. There seemed to be a real thirst for such truth, and I have had an Arab after hearing a simple exposition of the fifteenth chapter of John, come around for further discussion, of what to him was evidently a wonderfully beautiful truth.

The method has been pursued for only a single year, and too much importance must not be attached to the tentative conclusions, reached at the end of such a short period of study. There are, however, some things that seemed to stand out clearly, as the result of the year's work. In the first place, such work must be done in a hospital. Nowhere else could we find conditions sufficiently suitable, to make the effort possible. In the second place, the doctor must do a certain amount of the work, himself. Otherwise the patients will hardly consider that it has his sympathy and endorsement. In the third place, it must be individual work for individuals. It is not possible, by mass effort to get close enough to the Arab's soul to have any idea of its workings. And lastly, daily records must be kept of the way the individual reacts to the message. Individual impressions, in the absence of such a daily record, rapidly become most vague, and quite unreliable as a basis of judgment.

We are inclined, too, to believe that even this first year's work has given a real clue to the heart of the Moslem and that the progress of the Kingdom of God, in Islam, will be hastened by putting less dogmatic theology, and more of Christ's own mysticism, into our preaching of the Gospel, to the Moslems.

P. W. HARRISON.

Arabia.

"PROFESSOR SNOUCK HURGRONJE'S MOHAMMEDANISM"

THIS little book of only 178 pages contains great matter, for it is the latest and most considered summary, by the greatest western student of *Islam at close range* who has ever lived; a whole life-time's thought, study, and experience. It consists of four essays, the names of which are indicated by the sub-title.* It is bound to be studied by all who are interested in the fundamental questions it discusses; and in this article, therefore, we desire to give some general account of the principal theses, with special reference to their bearing on Moslem mission work.

*Mohammedanism: lectures on its Origin, its Religious and Political Growth, and its Present Status: Putnam's, New York, 1916.

I. *Origin of Islam.*—The chief interest of this chapter is of course Snouck Hurgronje's considered view concerning Mohammed. He begins with an endorsement of the thoroughgoing scepticism in regard to the Traditions which has resulted from the studies of Goldziher, Cætani, Lammens and others. The scepticism of the critics is acknowledged to be too extreme (p. 24); but the author does not tell us how he himself extracts the grain from the chaff, for assuredly his own "résumé" or resultant sketch of Mohammed is not based *wholly* on the Koran, which, nevertheless, is said (p. 26) alone to give us a firm footing if we wish to be sure of being on historical ground.

The biographies of Weil, Muir, and Sprenger, according to the author, "have now only historical value" (p. 14); and these have been recorded by "a number of more or less successful efforts without much permanent gain." The author seems to consider all these biographies as "principally characteristic of the temperament of the scholars who held them." We are almost surprised, therefore, when the author makes his own attempt to sum up "the results of the observations made with constantly improved instruments" (p. 25). Except in emphasis, it does not appear to be essentially different from the general results obtained from the biographies he has mentioned.

Missionaries are supposed to be both inaccurate and unfair in dealing with the life and character of Mohammed, though they have (we believe) done more than anyone else to mediate to the public moderate, fact-grounded views, and to destroy the mediæval-mythical one. This claim was strengthened by reading Snouck Hurgronje's own resultant sketch (pp. 25–48). It seems to us to differ little except in certain emphases from the sketches given in recent missionary text-books, etc. To take one, in which the writer of this article is naturally personally interested (the "Reproach of Islam"), Snouck Hurgronje's presentation of the psychology of Mohammed's "call" and "inspiration," and of the subsequent deterioration though not necessarily conscious falsification of that "inspiration" seems to coincide precisely

with the account given independently in that missionary text-book. We refer specially to p. 35 of Mohammedanism which emphasises how Mohammed's reflection on the fact that other "nations" had their several "Prophets" naturally led up to the conclusion that Mohammed must speak to his nation in Arabic "Through whose mouth?" . . . "At length he saw and heard that which he thought he ought to hear and see. In feverish dreams he found the form for the revelation, and he did not in the least realise that the contents of his inspiration from Heaven were nothing but the result of what he himself absorbed."

Again, the later stages of Mohammed's use of the "inspiration" are withall allowed to be self-deceptive (though the word is not used) (p. 35), but the identity of Mohammed throughout and his unconsciousness that he was deceiving himself and others is maintained (p. 40). Missionary text-books have tended to take the same view, or at least allow it to be perfectly possible.

Snouck Hurgronje on Mohammed and the Bible is most interesting and we respectfully commend his paragraphs there anent to the Mohammedan *illuminati* of Cairo. Mohammed "gained some knowledge of the contents of the sacred book of Judaism and Christianity . . . through various people . . . not lettered men; otherwise the quite confused ideas, especially in the beginning of the revelation concerning the mutual relations between Jews and Christians could not be explained." So Snouck Hurgronje (p. 30) afterwards goes on to give instances of Mohammed's blunders, including, we are amused to find, the "confusion between Myriam, the sister of Moses, and Mary, the mother of Jesus"; for pointing this out missionary writers have been severely lectured by various superior persons in East and West. Mohammed, in short (not the first of the company of authors to err in this way), fell back for support to books he had never read; hence his fundamental mistake as to the character of the whole Bible (see Snouck Hurgronje, p. 31). "Moreover, the many post-biblical features and stories which the Quran contains concerning the past of

mankind, indicate a vulgar origin, and especially as regards the Christian legends, communications from people who lived outside the communion of the great Christian Churches; this is sufficiently proved by the docetical representation of the death of Jesus and the many stories about his life, taken from apocryphal sources or fr popular oral legends." These mistakes, when those who knew the Bible faced him with them, led to "a re-adjustment of his point of view"; and accusations of falsification* necessarily followed; and adaptation; all of which "is to be explained without the supposition of conscious trickery or dishonesty on the part of Mohammed. There was no other way for the unlettered Prophet, whose belief in his mission was unshaken, to overcome difficulties entailed by his closer acquaintance with the tenets of other religions."

We do not see anything in all this that will be acceptable to our Cairo Moslem opponents.† In fact our only difficulty in regard to acquainting them with such passages is the possibility of having any Arabic article quoting them struck out by the censor, as likely to tend to an agitation; which *bien entendu* would find its warmest support in "literal" circles themselves.

Snouck Hurgronje alludes (p. 43) to "the various weaknesses which disfigured this great personality and which he himself freely confessed" (Where?), and mentions (p. 45) that "with the rise of his power he becomes cruel to the Jews in North Arabia." (He certainly never freely confessed this!) The Dutch professor himself, had he been expanding this part of his sketch in a more extended "life," could hardly have helped strengthening this part of the subject; and missionary writers can therefore hereby be blamed if they have fearlessly done so. And we do not see that they have done more than call facts facts, and spades spades.

*The Professor says (p. 41) that he accused the *Christians* of falsifying their book. But where is this said or hinted at in the Koran? The Tahrif passages all concern the Jews; and even they (so S. H. does not tell us) do not necessarily mean textual falsifications.

†Let them note for example how fully the Dutch writer accepts the fact of the crucifixion and points to the significance of Christ's dying words: "It is finished!" (p. 47.)

II. *Development.*—Snouck Hurgronje sums up the discussion as to whether Mohammed ever intended his religion to be universal by approving a quotation from Sir William Muir (p. 51): "From first to last the summons was to Arabs and none other. . . . The seed of a universal creed had indeed been sown; but that it never germinated was due to circumstances rather than design." With regard to the question, so positively raised by T. W. Arnold as to whether Islam was preached to, or forced on, the nations, our author is as usual clear and to the point. While complimentary to the admirable and able author just mentioned, he considers that his main thesis is contrary to fact. "If Islam is said to have been from its beginning down to the present day, a missionary religion, then 'mission' is to be taken here in a quite peculiar sense, and special attention must be given to the preparation of the missionary field by the Moslem armies as related in history and considered as most important by the Mohammedans themselves." "Among the many objections that may be raised against Professor Arnold's conclusion, we point to the undeniable fact, that the Moslem scholars of all ages hardly speak of 'mission' at all, and always treat the extension of the true faith by Holy War as one of the principal duties of the Moslem community" (p. 62). It is necessary to say that Snouck Hurgronje does full justice to the strong points of Moslem rule, and the humane aspects of their warfare. None the less "the social condition of these subjects was gradually made so oppressive by the Mohammedan masters, that rapid conversions in masses were a natural consequence; the more natural because among the conquered nations intellectual culture was restricted to a small circle so that after the conquest their spiritual leaders lacked freedom of movement. Besides, practically very little was required from the new converts, so that it was very tempting to take the step that led to full citizenship" (pp. 63–64). And again: "No, those who have in a short time subjected millions of non-Arabs to the state founded by Mohammed, and thus prepared their conversion, were no apostles. They were generals whose strategic talents

would have remained hidden but for Mohammed, political geniuses, especially from Mecca and Taif, who, before Islam, would have excelled only in the organisation of commercial operations or in establishing harmony between hostile families."

Here again, it seems to us, the missionary text-books fairly coincide with the maturist findings of the eminent Dutch Islamologist.

In an Arabic article recently published in Cairo, which proved very distasteful to the Moslems *including* the liberal Illuminati and which was therefore censored by the authorities, the writer of these lines showed that the Traditions being so largely fictitious the fabric of Sunnite law which largely rests on the Traditions could not really claim the sanction of coming from Mohammed. Let us see what our candid author says on the subject. "A sorting (of borrowed material) began; and the assimilation of the vast amount of borrowed matter, that had already become an integral part of Islam, was completed by submitting the whole to a peculiar treatment. It was carefully divested of all marks of origin and labelled *hadith* so that henceforth it was regarded as emanations from the wisdom of the Arabian Prophet, for which his followers owed no thanks to foreigners." This "labelling" process —which Snouck Hurgronje finds "naive" rather than fraudulent or at worst "a pious fraud" (p. 21)—was applied most freely of all to law-making—"it was assured that as surely as Mohammed must have surpassed his predecessors in perfection and in wonders, so surely must all the principles and precepts necessary for his community have been formulated by him. Thus by a gigantic web of fiction, he became after his death the organ of opinions, ideas, and interests, whose lawfulness was recognised by every influential section of the Faithful" (p. 70–71). Yet a Moslem under-secretary of state, a modernist, told the writer that criticisms of Traditions had no effect on the authority of the canon-law! It would seem that the enlightened have still some way to travel.

Before leaving this chapter, we must note the clear account of that important subject *ijma* to be found in it,

and the bearing of the same on the grafting of *mysticism* on Islam.

III. *Political Development.*—After a beautifully clear account of the different functions of the *qadi* or magistrate, *mufti* or legal adviser and *Alim* or scribe (in the Jewish sense), the author touches on two subjects of first-rate importance,—in which there is an extraordinary amount of loose thinking, even in high places, and in which it behooves all, especially administrators, to think clearly, namely, the *Jihad* or Holy War and the Khaliphate. The author shows that though the idea of *Jihad* may have decayed among intellectuals and practical men, it is "the most supremely *popular* of the ideal of Islam" (p. 130). "It would be a gross mistake to imagine that the idea of universal conquest may be considered as obliterated. This is the case with the intellectuals and with many practical commercial or industrial men; but the canonist and the vulgar still live in the illusion of the days of Islam's greatness.

"The legists willingly join with the Friday teachers when they pronounce the prayer, taken from the Koran . . . 'Grant us then to conquer the unbelievers.' And the common people are willingly taught by the canonists" (p. 120).

This subject leads on to the Khalifate which is a matter of practical interest to-day. The author can speak authoritatively out of his vast reading and unique personal experience—just as it is from experience that he states that the idea of *Jihad* is a living one in "the masses" of Islam. He shows us how little weight there is in all Moslem theories about the Khaliphate (*i.e.*, that the Khalifa should be an Arab of the Koreish) compared with the grand disideratum that he should be *strong* and *independent* (pp. 125–6) (hence the unmistakeable coldness of the reception accorded to recent events in the Hejaz even by Indian Moslems). He shows further how absolutely untrue is the notion that the authority of the khalif is *spiritual*, or that the loss of temporal authority may therefore be indifferent. Mark the following significant words: "Though this view, through the ignorance of

European statesmen and diplomatists, may have found acceptance even by some of the great powers, it is nevertheless entirely untrue; unless by 'spiritual authority' we are to understand the empty appearance of worldly authority." And still more this: "Of late years Mohammedan statesmen in their intercourse with their Western colleagues are glad to take the latter's point of view; and in discussion, accept the comparison of the Khalifate with the Papacy, because they are aware that only in this form the Khaliphate can be made acceptable to powers which have Mohammedan subjects. But for these subjects the Khalif is then their true prince, who is temporarily hindered in the exercise of his government, but whose right is acknowledged even by their unbelieving masters." And most of all this: "A Western state that admits any authority of a Khalif over its Mohammedan subjects, thus acknowledges, *not* the authority of a pope of the Moslem Church, but in simple ignorance is feeding political programs, which, however vain, always have the power of stirring Mohammedan masses to confusion and excitement."

We hope, Moslems then anticipate that these words will be read and weighed by every British official in Africa and Asia whose duties lie among Moslems. They might even afford food for thought in Whitehall . . . ?

The author, however, is not afraid of *Jihad.* "We must leave it," he says, "to the Mohammedans themselves to reconcile the new ideas which they want with the old ones with which they cannot dispense; but we can help them in adapting their educational system to modern requirements and give them a good example by rejecting the detestible identification of power and right in politics which lies at the basis of their own canonical law on holy war as well as at the basis of the political practice of modern Western states" (the last words are especially noteworthy as coming from the man who has just been scourging "The Holy War made in Germany"). Nevertheless in pp. 152–156 he shows his consciousness of the extreme delicacy and importance of the question. His final conclusion is that the practical movements of

Islam and the reactionists will succeed in moving together, as they always have hitherto, and that the influence of the former will keep the latter in check, until such time as the idea of *Jihad* has joined several other ones in the Museum of Religious Antiquities, theoretically valid, but really obsolete and dead.

IV. *Islam and Modern Thought.*—We have already anticipated our author's fourth chapter, in every respect the most interesting of all. In it he develops in detail the indescribable prescriptions of Islamic law-slavery, female concubinage, polygamy, divorce (the most serious and unyielding of all, he thinks), etc.—the thesis we have already described, namely that the progress of enlightment and of modern thought will slowly but surely bring about the practical supersession of them all. "This will be due, then, neither to the Prophet's Sunnah nor to the infallible Agreement of the community of the first centuries of Islam, but to the irresistible power of the evolution of human society, which is merciless to laws even of divine origin and transfers them, when their time is come, from the treasury of everlasting goods to a museum of antiquities."

The author is earnestly optimistic about the possibilities of the indefinitely continued existence of an Islam that will no longer be a danger to progress nor menace the main communications of human civilisation. He will have none of those who assert that East and West must remain perpetually at loggerheads. He pleads for the co-operation of all in bringing about this understanding; and from this point of view he welcomes Christian missions—in a qualified way.

Not evangelisation with its end conversion, however; for in his view this has ever proved to be a hopeless quest: but educational and other civilising and enlightening influences he welcomes. He seems to think that many missionaries who practice these forms of work have entirely given up the hope of converting Moslems, a circumstance which seems to the Professor to make their devotion all the more admirable.

It is certainly encouraging to have Snouck Hurgronje's

sympathetic admission that it is Christian missions that show the deepest consciousness of this state of things and the greatest activity in promoting an association of Mohammedan thought with that of Western nations (p. 173). He does not attempt to dissuade us for he values all who are honestly attempting to study the whole subject and promote contact. We may thank the Professor for his courteous allusions, without, however, sharing his pessimism. What about the thousands of Mohammedan converts in his own Dutch East Indies? and the yearly harvest of conversions, even if relatively small, in India? Moreover, if the evangelistic nerve were cut what would become of nearly all educational and medical missions to Mohammedans? Even from his own point of view, preaching, with a view to conversion, should continue: for we believe that experience teaches that paradoxical though it may seem, it is the fearless doing of just this, just because Mohammedans know very well it is a Christian duty, that wins for Christians and Christianity, in the end, the largest share of Mohammedan respect.

W. H. T. GAIRDNER.

THE MYSTICISM OF THE DESERT*

I THINK there are really three Islams—the picturesque, the "orthodox," and the mystical. The first belongs to the artists, distinguished among whom, on the literary side, stands M. Pierre Loti, with his beautiful word-paintings in "Le Désert," "Au Maroc," and "Les Désenchantées," the last-named being a study of modern womanhood in Turkey.

The second Islam, the orthodox, has a large literature of its own, both ancient and modern. This is the Islam of scholars and theologians, and in its external and formal aspect, it is the religion of the great masses of the Moslem world. Connected with orthodox Islam there is a second literature, that created by the Christian missionary in order to combat it among its followers, and to enlighten the Christian public as to its true nature. Raymund Lull is, perhaps, the father of such literature.

The third Islam, the mystical, is much less known in the West. Probably the recent revival of interest in mysticism has suffered severely through the war, and such books as Professor Nicholson's "Mystics of Islam"—a very lucid work on an involved subject—may find fewer readers now than two years ago. Missionaries, too, one must conclude, know less of Sufism than of other sides of Islam; and yet this Moslem mysticism is widespread, and is a great power in the lives of the people. The popular Dervishism in Egypt, for instance, is a (degenerate) form of Sufism.

This is not the place in which to enter into a discussion of the origin and growth of the Moslem mysticism, even if the present writer were qualified to do so. Suffice it to say, that into its composition not only Moslem, but also

* The author acknowledges great indebtedness to Professor Nicholson's book, "The Mystics of Islam," but not having the volume at hand during the time of writing, apologizes for any quotation marks omitted where they may be due.—P. HURST.

Christian, neo-Platonic, Indian and Buddhist teachings have entered. To the Christian element we owe some of the most beautiful of Sufi conceptions, and some of the noblest passages of Persian mystic poetry. Still, this particular form of mysticism is essentially Moslem, born and bred, as it were, in Moslem lands, and drawing its inspiration primarily from the Koran and the traditions of the Prophet. To quote from the printed leaflet of the Sufi Order in London:* "Sufism was intellectually born in Arabia, devotionally reared in Persia, and spiritually completed in India."

If asked to state the central idea of the Sufi teaching, we may reasonably reply, It is the Moslem doctrine of the unity of God, *mystically interpreted.* "God. He is God alone, and there is none other than He": here, "while the ordinary Moslem means that God is unique in His essence, qualities and acts, the Sufi means that God is the One real Being which underlies all phenomena." The latter are regarded sometimes as an emanation from God, sometimes as a mirror which reflects Him; and yet they are essentially one with Him; as the Persian poet Jami has written:

> "All mirrors in the Universe, I ween
> Display Thy image with its radiant sheen;
> Nay, in them all, so vast Thy effluent grace,
> 'Tis *Thyself,* not Thine image, that is seen."

The ordinary man, of course, does not believe this, but sees around him an infinite number of distinct and separate objects. The aim of the Sufi is to *realise* that all appearance of "otherness" is false, and that his own "phenomenal self" is likewise a delusion; and through this realisation to escape from the bondage of his "unreal" selfhood and be reunited with the One real Being from whom he originally came forth.

The problem for the Sufi, then, is to attain to this "realisation," and through it to escape from self. How he tries to solve this problem, we shall presently hope to see.

*Compare the article on "Sufism in the West" in this number of our QUARTERLY.—ED.

It will of course be recognised, that the idea of the One and Only real Being is not peculiar to Sufism. The English philosopher Berkeley, for example, took up the same position. Let us see, however, how the doctrine works out in the logic of the Eastern mind environed by Islam, and how the Sufi puts it into practice in his life.

Speaking of logic, one must just remark in passing, that Sufism is, really, logically irreconcilable with orthodox Islam, which latter holds an extreme view of the *transcendence* of God, and denies the possibility of union with Him. That the two systems have, notwithstanding, become reconciled, is due largely to the master-mind of Al-Ghazali, the eleventh century philosopher, theologian, and Sufi, whose writings have exerted a remarkable influence upon the subsequent thought of Islam. There are passages in the Koran and in the traditions of the Prophet, which are taken to justify the Sufi belief. "He is nearer to him than the vein of his neck" (Koran), for example, certainly teaches the *immanence* of God. Again, the following four among the names of Allah: The First, the Last, the Essence, the Substance, "spell pantheism to many of the Prophet's followers. If pantheism is the doctrine of one substance, it is taught here. God is the inside and outside of everything. He is the phenomena (Dhahir), and the power behind the phenomena (Bātin). . . . On this revelation of God the Sufis and mystics built their philosophy."*

Reasons of expediency on the side of the world-power seem also to have played a large part in the toleration and establishment of the Sufi teaching. Mrs. Garnett, in her "Turkish Life in Town and Country," after speaking of the great influence exerted by the dervishes, says, that this influence "has invariably been utilised by the Sultans and their generals to stimulate the zeal and courage of their troops in time of war. . . . The munificence of Sultans, . . . who have attributed their victories to the presence in their armies of these holy men, enabled the dervish sheikhs to found monasteries and colleges in all the conquered provinces." †

*"The Moslem Doctrine of God," by S. M. Zwemer.

†"Turkish Life in Town and Country," pp. 120, 121.

Let us now try to follow some of the experiences of the Sufi on his "journey," as he, in common with other mystics, terms the progress of the spiritual life. It is the first, or disciplinary stage of this "journey" which is, properly speaking, the "Path," or "Way" (tarīg). The remaining stages may be characterised, according to Professor Nicholson, as the "Gnosis" (ma'rifat) and the "Truth" (hagg).

The starting-point of the journey is repentance. This, according to the Sufis, is an act of Divine grace, whereby the soul is awakened from heedlessness, becoming aware of its evil ways; and further, experiences contrition, immediately renounces conscious sin, and resolves never to return to it.

It would seem from this, that the Sufi doctrine of repentance is to a great extent identical with that of Christianity, but with this difference, that it is not, perhaps, in the Christian sense, "repentance *toward God.*" How indeed can it be, since the Moslem "Allah" is lacking in the love which Christ has revealed to us as the Character of our Father in heaven? The *holy* wrath and grief of God over sin is a conception unknown to the Moslem mind.

And just here, how one would wish to present the Saviour of the penitent, so that "repentance toward God" might find its complement in "faith toward our Lord Jesus Christ!"

The next step is the choosing of the Sheikh, or spiritual director, who shall be able to lead the novice to that point where he will perceive "the inner light, the unity of all things, and himself vanishing as an individual in the One." For although it is on record that this has been accomplished by the aid simply of devotional and ascetic exercises, yet a shorter course is by the hypnotic help of a teacher.* To the Sheikh the novice yields complete and implicit obedience, placing himself in his power, as the Moslem phrase has it, "as a corpse in the hands of the washer." Jesuit authority could go no further.

The highly psychical nature of such a method is easily

*I have here slightly adapted the words of Professor Macdonald: "Religious Attitude and Life in Islam," p. 196.

apparent. Much depends on the temperament of the disciple, and on the magnetic or hypnotic, personal power of the Sheikh. Again, the desired "knowledge of God," and "union with" Him, as understood by the mystics of Islam, becomes, as we shall see, in the last analysis a sort of mental achievement, and the achievement, moreover, of a mind rendered morbid by hypnotic influence, and often severe asceticism.

And yet, as against all this, we must set the comparative purity of life of some Sufis, and the noble and beautiful teaching contained in much of their literature. The whole subject forms a perplexing but fascinating study, and it is the more difficult because the views of the various schools of Sufi thought differ on certain matters among themselves.

Having passed the gate of Repentance, the novice enters upon that "Path" whose goal, as Al-Ghazali indicates, is "the being lost in God."* At the direction of his Sheikh, he now undergoes a course of ascetic discipline, the immediate object of which is the mortification of the lower self or "nafs."

This word, "nafs," literally translated "soul," in reality corresponds very much to our "flesh," in the evil sense in which it is often used in the New Testament, *e.g.*, "ye shall not fulfil the lusts of the flesh." Mortification of the nafs, it is said, is the chief work of devotion, and again, one of the Sheikhs has declared, that "self-mortification, practised with the aid of God, is the direct cause of union with God."†

"Mortification consists in the breaking of pride, the resisting of the passions, and the recognition, through suffering, of the vileness of the original nature." The surrender of the will to God, and mental concentration upon Him, will, it is supposed, not only extinguish these evil qualities, but will also replace them by their opposites, *i.e.*, humility, purity, and self-knowledge. This "surrender of the will," however, like many other theological terms, conveys a very different meaning to that

*"Confessions of Al-Ghazali," p. 48.

†"Kashf Al-Mahjub," p. 201.

which Christians might be apt to read into it. It implies a frame of mind which is well illustrated by the story of the dervish who fell into the Tigris. "Seeing that he could not swim, a man on the bank cried out to him, 'Shall I tell some one to bring you ashore?' The dervish said 'no.' 'Then do you wish to be drowned?' 'No.' 'What, then, do you wish?' The dervish replied, 'That which God wishes. What have I to do with wishing?' "

Among the outward means of mortification, are fasting, silence and solitude. And here the question arises, have not many of us Christians too little experience of these long-approved aids to spiritual progress, and consequently, too little to say on the subject to our Moslem enquirers and converts? Apparently these things make a stronger appeal to the Eastern than to the Western mind. Think of Ramadhan. Think of the long hours during which an Arab will sit, silent and solitary, wrapped in his mantle. Think of the solemn stillness and loneliness of the desert which has been his age-long home.

If mortification of the "nafs" is the negative side of the Sufi's discipline, mental concentration is its positive side, and this finds its chief expression in the famous practice of the "dhikr," or "recollection" (of God). The dhikr has various forms, and it can be performed either singly or in company with others.

Certain pious exclamations indulged in by people who may pass as ordinary Moslems, are really a sort of simple dhikr. So is the telling of the ninety-nine names of Allah on the rosary, the use of which is said to have been derived from the Buddhists. A more thorough kind of dhikr has been described somewhat as follows: The Sufi reduces his heart to a state, in which the existence of anything and its non-existence are the same to him. Sitting alone, and letting nothing but God enter his mind, he continues to repeat "Allah, Allah," keeping his thought on it. Presently his tongue stops moving, and his heart perseveres with the thought. Then the form of the word is removed from his heart, and the idea alone remains; and he waits what God will open to him.*

*See "Religious Life and Attitude in Islam," by Professor Macdonald.

It will be observed, that a certain state of mind is here deliberately cultivated as the condition of receiving the revelation of God. This is the state known as "ecstasy," and to induce it is of the highest importance to the Sufi, who believes it to be the only means "whereby man can communicate with God and be united with Him." Music, dancing and singing are also used to bring it about. Mr. E. W. Lane, in his "Modern Egyptians," thus describes the performance of a concerted dhikr:

"Sometimes standing in the form of a circular or an oblong ring, or in two rows, facing each other, and sometimes sitting, they exclaim, or chant, 'Lá iláha illa-lláh' (There is no deity but God), or 'Alláh, Alláh, Alláh!' or repeat other invocations, etc.: over and over again, until their strength is almost exhausted, accompanying their ejaculations or chants with a motion of the head, or of the whole body, or of the arms. From long habit they are able to continue these exercises for a surprising length of time without intermission. They are often accompanied, at intervals, by one or more players upon a kind of flute called 'nay,' or a double reed-pipe, called 'arghool,' or by persons singing religious odes; and some darweeshes use a little drum, called 'baz,' or a tambourine, during their zikrs; some, also, perform a peculiar dance."*

Jalal-ud-din Rumi, the thirteenth century Persian poet, was the founder of the order of Maulavis, or "dancing dervishes."

The ecstasy, or rapture, produced by these or other means, is regarded as the outward sign of the much-desired "passing-away" (fanā) from the phenomenal self. Its attainment marks the completion of the early stage, the "Path." The novice now, at the institution of the Sheikh, dons for the first time the patched frock (muraqqa'a) of his profession.

But what, exactly, is this ecstasy? "It is a state of trance, and in its highest stage, is characterised by cessation of all conscious thought. It is often accompanied by loss of sensation." By means of ecstasy, it is said, "the soul is morally transformed through the extinction of its

*"Modern Egyptians," pp. 250–1.

passions and desires; the mind is abstracted and concentrated upon God; and the mystic becomes rapt in the contemplation of the Divine essence."

This being so, it follows that ecstasy is a sufficient substitute for the ascetic discipline and mental recollection which we have described, supposing of course, that it can be obtained without the assistance of the latter. And many a one could bear witness to the power of *music* alone, to

"Dissolve him into ecstasies,
And bring all heaven before his eyes."

In Sufism, it is too true that a man may have the reputation of knowing God and being in union with Him, not on the ground of moral qualifications, but upon that of ecstasy alone; which, far from involving a high ethical standard, is a psychical state often bordering on degeneracy of mind. Indeed, actual idiots, if they exhibit the signs of religious ecstasy, are commonly accounted "saints" in Islam.

"Mollā-Shāh was a celebrated Sheikh of India, born in 1584. He had a disciple named Tawakkul Beg, whose experiences, as related by himself, throw much light on the sort of hypnotic methods adopted by some Sufis in the initiation of their pupils. Says Professor Macdonald,* "Mollā-Shāh, himself, according to this account, had reached his own unveiling by such exercises (*i.e.*, devotional and ascetic), and without the hypnotic help of a teacher. But for his own pupils, he had discovered a simpler and shorter course, in which he used his will and personality to open, as the phrase is, the knot of their hearts. . . . He thus describes his initiation: 'I passed all that night without being able to close an eye, and set myself to recite the 112th chapter of the Koran 100,000 times, which I accomplished in some days. It is well-known that the Great Name of God is contained in that chapter, and that whoever reads it 100,000 times is able to attain accomplishment of all his desires. So I formed a wish that the master would grant me his affection . . . scarcely had I finished reciting . . .

*"Religious Life and Attitude in Islam," p. 196 ff.

when the heart of the master was filled with sympathy with me, and he gave orders . . . to conduct me, the following night, into his presence. During that entire night he concentrated his mind upon me, while I directed my thought toward my own heart; but the knot of my heart did not open. So three nights passed, during which he made me the object of his spiritual attention, without any effect being felt. On the fourth night, Mollā-Shāh said, "This night, Mollā-Senghin and Sālih Beg, who are both very open to ecstatic emotion, will direct all their mind on the neophyte." They obeyed this order, while I remained sitting, the whole night, with my face turned toward Mecca, concentrating, at the same time, all my mental faculties upon my own heart. Toward the dawn, some little light and clearness showed themselves in my heart. . . . After the morning prayers, I went . . . to the master . . . he made me sit before him, my senses being as though intoxicated, and ordered me to reproduce his own image within myself; and after having bandaged my eyes, he asked me to concentrate all my mental faculties on my heart. I obeyed, and in an instant, by the divine favour and by the spiritual assistance of the Sheikh, my heart opened. . . . I said to the master, "This cell, where I am seated before you—I see a faithful reproduction of it before me, and it appears to me as though another Tawakkul Beg were seated before another Mollā-Shāh." . . . After these things, I saw . . . a dazzling figure (which said) "My name is* Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī. . . . I have already granted to thee my spiritual assistance; it is by it that the knots of thy heart have been opened." . . . Mollā-Shāh then said to me, "The spiritual world has been shown to thee in all its beauty. Remain, then, seated, effacing thyself entirely in the marvels of that unknown world." I conformed exactly to the directions of my master; and from day to day the spiritual world was opened further before me. The day following, I saw the figures of the Prophet and his principal companions, and of legions of angels and of saints pass before my inner sight. Three months

*Founder of the Qādirite fraternity of dervishes. Died 1166.

went by . . . then all these images disappeared. During all this time the master did not cease to explain to me the doctrine of union with God, but he was not willing to show me the absolute reality. It was not until after a year that the science of the absolute reality with regard to the conception of my own proper existence reached me. The following verses were revealed, in that moment, to my heart, whence they passed to my lips unconsciously: "I knew not that this perishable carcass was nought but water and clay, I did not recognise either the faculties of the heart, or of the soul, or of the body: Unhappy am I that without Thee, so much of my life has passed. *Thou wast I, and I knew it not.*'"

The hypnotic aspect of initiation is here seen with striking clearness; and the passage is also useful as showing the transition (apparently) from the "Path" to the "Gnosis," which is the next great stage in the spiritual journey, and whose starting-point is al-fanā, the passing-away or losing oneself in God.

This gnosis, or ma'rifat, is characterised by contemplation, or "the spiritual vision of God in private and in public." * Whereas hitherto the "journey" was said to be *to* God, henceforth it is described as being *in* God, phraseology strikingly reminiscent of the New Testament.

One may note here the *positive* nature of Sufism. Al-fanā, the passing-away from self, is the gate of al-bagā, the abiding in God. (There is no doctrine of Nirvana here.) The new "journey in God" is to lead the traveller on to greater heights of spiritual experience. And so we may naturally ask, "*What* is it that is revealed to the Sufi in his hour of spiritual exaltation?"

No doubt some measure of light is given. "Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God"; and although perfect purity can only come through the cleansing of the Precious Blood, yet have there not been those among the Moslems who have renounced known sin, and have really striven to keep their garments white? And again, "Every one that seeketh, findeth"; but how dim must be the perception of all these Christless seekers when com-

* "Kashf al-Mahjub," p. 329.

pared with that "light of the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Jesus the Messiah!"

What the contemplative really sees, or thinks he sees, is well shown by Tawakkul Beg in the passage quoted above. The "inner vision" of the Sheikh which the novice perceives, is, it appears, the first of a series which in time disappear, and are succeeded by yet more august experiences. The progress of contemplation has been thus described: "Illumination. This gradually increases in splendour; then comes contemplation of the Divine attributes, and at last, when consciousness is gone, transubstantiation (tajawhara) in the radiance of the Divine essence."

"I, *all in all becoming*, now clear see God in all."

We need not try to get a definite report of these experiences. "Contemplation," says Al-Hujwiri discreetly, "is an attribute of the heart, and cannot be expressed by the tongue except metaphorically." * Still less, perhaps, need we hope to follow the Sufi who has entered on the third stage of the spiritual journey, "the Truth," a phase which probably corresponds to that known to Christian mystics as the "unitive life." "Contemplation in the degree of love is perfect unity, and any outward expression in unity is *otherness*" (the horror of the Sufi, as polytheism is the horror of the ordinary Moslem).

> "I desired my Beloved, but when I saw Him,
> I was dumbfounded and possessed neither tongue nor eye."

And again,

> "What I experience, I shall not try to say,
> Call me happy, but ask me no more."

So we are thrown back on poetry; and I sometimes think, that what we need for the Moslem mystics is a more poetical presentation of Christianity. What wells of pure poetry we have in the Bible. What an influence is exercised by poetry in the East. How, in the "Arabian Nights," the practical course of life is altered by an apt quotation from the poets:

"I will pay no regard to thy counsel, but I will rather attend to the saying of the poet." . . . "He," or

*"Kashf Al-Mahjub," pp. 329–30.

"she recited these couplets." . . . Then wonderful things happen.

Mr. L. Cranmer-Byng states, that "to-day, throughout Mohammedan and Parsi India and in Persia, these three books are taught in the schools: the Pand Nameh, or Book of Counsel, the Gulistan, or Rose Garden, the Bostan, or Garden of Perfume";* all being the works of Sa'di, the thirteenth century Persian Sufi poet. Sufism is a religion of poetry, while recitations of the Koran, and songs in praise of the Prophet, are, one might almost say, the life and soul of popular Islam.

I would not leave the subject of the higher experiences of Sufism, without giving the following beautiful passages from "Kashf al-Mahjub," concerning prayer and the Divine love:—

"The Apostle said, 'In prayer lies my delight,' because prayer is a source of joy to the steadfast . . . the Apostle was brought nigh unto God on the night of the Ascension. . . . When he returned to this world, he used to say as often as he felt a longing for that exalted station 'O Bilal, comfort us by the call to prayer!' Thus to him every time of prayer was an Ascension and a new nearness to God."†

"God's love of man is His good will towards Him and His having mercy on him. . . . Man's love towards God is a quality which manifests itself in the heart of the pious believer, in the form of veneration and magnification, so that he seeks to satisfy his Beloved and becomes impatient and restless in his desire for vision of Him, and cannot rest with anyone except Him, and grows familiar with the remembrance (dhikr) of Him, and abjures the remembrance of everything besides. . . . The lovers of God are those who devote themselves to death in nearness to Him, . . . and the truest lovers are they who would fain die thus, and are overpowered, because a phenomenal being has no means of approaching the Eternal save through the omnipotence of the Eternal. He

*"The Rose Garden" of Sa'di, p. 13, "Wisdom of the East" Series.
†"Kashf al-Mahjub," p. 302.

who knows what is real love feels no more difficulties, and all his doubts depart." *

The Divine love is freely expressed by the Sufi poets in the terms of human love. This erotic language often becomes extravagant, and it is at times impossible to tell whether a literal or a mystical meaning is intended. For the imagery of love in the expression of the Divine relationship with man, we have of course the highest authority in the Bible, but there it has been spiritualised, sanctified, and guarded, and turned to the most sacred uses. On the human side, we may remark, that the difference between the Bible treatment of this imagery, and that, say, of some of the Persian poets, was due to the much higher ideal of womanhood under Judaism and Christianity. To speak of the relationship between God and man in terms of ordinary Moslem love and marriage, is to degrade the name of God. On the other hand, to speak in terms of the highest Christian union, is to use a symbolism, which, however inadequate, has nothing irreverent about it, as our Lord Himself has shown; and it seems to the present writer, that the winning of the Moslem mystics, to which this symbolism means so much, may be intimately connected with the elevation of Moslem womanhood in Christ. It is extremely suggestive, that one of the very first mystics of Islam of whom any record exists, was a devout woman.†

The question now is, ought we not to approach the Moslems more on the mystical side than has been done hitherto? There would seem to be a much greater affinity between Christianity and Sufism than between Christianity and orthodox Islam. We have heard of the underground rivers of the Sahara, and of the "secret of the desert," that mysterious knowledge possessed by certain of the Bedouin as to how and where to tap the hidden supply of living water. If Islam is the desert, I think it is the Moslem mystic who possesses the secret of digging down below its hard surface and finding, be it only a

*"Kashf al-Mahjub," p. 807.

†Rabia, a native of Mesopotamia in the seventh century, of whom the poet Attar is related to have said, "This is not a woman, but a man, absorbed as she is in the love of God."

few precious drops of that Divine truth which flows beneath all religions, but which only in Christ wells up and overflows, "a spring of living water, springing up unto everlasting life."

Perhaps the last word should be poetry. As far as I know, we do not possess in Christendom any great religious poem to correspond to the "Masnavi" or the "Diwan" of Jalal-ud-din Rumi. In his ecstatic verse, we seem to breathe again the spirit of the Psalmist, "God my exceeding joy."

"My soul sends up to heaven each night the cry of love!
God's starry beauty draws with might the cry of love!
Bright sun and moon each morn dance in my heart at dawn,
And waking me at daylight, excite the cry of love!
On every meadow glancing, I see God's sunbeams play,
And all creation's wonders excite the cry of love!

. . . . .

I, all in all becoming, now clear see God in all,
And up from Union yearning, takes flight the cry of love!"*

I think we may well pray that God will raise up a Christian mystic poet from the ranks of Islam: one who shall be able to call, *unto Christ*, his fellows with a call like this:

"O honoured guest in love's high feast, O bird of the angel-sphere,
'Tis cause to weep, if thou wilt keep thy habitation here!
A voice at morn to thee is borne—God whispers to the soul—
'If on the way the dust thou lay, thou soon wilt gain the goal.'
The way be thine toward the shrine! and lo, in bush and briar,
The many slain by love and pain in flower of young desire,
Who on the track fell wounded back, and saw not, ere the end,
A ray of bliss, a touch, a kiss, a token of the Friend!"†

(Miss) PLEASANT HURST.
Drumaness, County Down.

*"Diwan." Trans.: R. A. Nicholson.
†Jalal-ud-din Rumi: "Diwan." Trans.: R. A. Nicholson.

SUFISM IN THE WEST

JUDGING from the number of books on Mysticism published during the past few years, it is evident that there is a growing interest in the subject amongst western peoples. The writings of recognised mystics, which have long lain neglected in musty libraries, are being brought into light, and presented in readable form by men and women who believe they contain a real remedy for the philosophical and theological unrest of to-day. This interest in mysticism is an indication of a spirit of dissatisfaction with the materialism of the age: and may be the means of leading us into a clearer vision.

It is curious to notice that the East—home of all mysticism—is to-day playing a part in the general movement; and readers of THE MOSLEM WORLD will be interested to know that during the past four or five years an order of Sufis—or Moslem mystics, has been brought into existence in England, France, Russia, and America.

As is well known, the Indian conceptions of Islam are far in advance of those prevailing in the rapidly disintegrating Ottoman Empire. This may be due to the deeply philosophical and mystical bent of the Indian mind, which has led to the development of many Moslem sects whose progressive interpretations are unacceptable to the orthodox. Many Indian Moslems have accepted the teaching of the Persian Sufis, whose mysticism has now been planted in the West: whether it is vigorous enough to survive the materialistic and progressive tendencies to which it will be subjected remains to be seen. It is certainly of interest to students of Islam to know of its origin and progress up to the present.

Philosophy and Mysticism invariably tend to abolish religious distinctions: and the modern form of Sufism exaggerates the tendency. The Sufi of the West can sing:

"A church, a Temple, or a Kaaba stone;
Kuran, or Bible, or a Martyr's bone;
All these, and more, my heart can tolerate
Since my religion is of Love alone."

In spite of his bias towards Islam, he regards all religions as being aspects of Truth, he "considers all prophets and sages, not as numerous individuals, but as the one embodiment of God's pure consciousness, or the manifestation of Divine Wisdom—appearing on earth for the awakening of man from his sleep of ignorance." . . . "Sufis have no prejudice towards any prophets and masters, they look upon all as Divine Wisdom itself appearing under different names and forms; and love them with all adoration, as the lover loves his beloved in all her different garments, and throughout all the stages of her life. . . . Sufis recognise, and offer devotion . . . to . . . Abraham, Moses, Jesus, and Mohammed" (so do all orthodox Moslems). "Mohammed's teachings are studied and followed by the orthodox, as religion, and by the *deep thinkers*, as a *philosophy*," is the heretical belief of the Sufi! Buddha, Krishna, Zoroaster, and the names of the mythological genii of the various arts, are also included in the Sufi's roll of prophets and sages.

Inayat Khan, who is responsible for the introduction of Sufism into the West, accepts also Vishnu, Rama, and Shiva as being messengers of Truth. Mohammed's pre-eminence is due to the fact that he brought the final message of revelation to man—this message is contained in the prophet's saying "None but God existeth" which indicates a "pantheism" admitting a "spirit of democracy" in religion wherein a Sufi, under the leadership of a "perfect spiritual guide" may attain the highest perfection. (This view is attributed by E. H. Palmer in his "Oriental Mysticism," not to the old Sufis; but to the sect known as 'Ahl-el-Wahdat'—unitarians.) Inayat Khan as a Sufi is so tolerant that he can write—"were a Buddhist to come to me saying, 'Lo! our Lord Buddha was the only teacher,' I would say 'Verily!' And if a Kinder cried to me that Krishna is the ideal master, I would

answer, 'You speak rightly.' And if a Christian should declare that Christ is the Highest of All, I would reply 'Undoubtedly.'" The Sufi cannot therefore be drawn into useless controversy: and Rumi says truly: "The Sufis take the meat, leaving the bones for others to fight over!"

Sufism, in its modern guise, makes a subtle appeal to those æsthetic souls whose mental conceit forbids the acceptance of Christian faith. Its attractiveness may be understood from a definition which seems to be used as a motto, and which appears on the title page of all books published by the order, it declares that "Sufism is the religious philosophy of Love, Harmony, and Beauty." One writer condemns Christianity because it discountenances reverence for the beautiful and therefore tends to stultify the æsthetic sense! It is difficult to believe that those who have professed to accept Sufism as a means of Salvation and who have been initiated into its mysteries, really understand the absolute self-effacement this doctrine involves. Mr. Bjerregard writes: "A poor Dervish whose dirty rags have no commercial value, may at times demonstrate beauty which no academician can rival by pen, or brush, or even interpret," and one wonders what his æsthetic readers of the Western Sufi order would think of their dirty, often verminous brother dervishes of the East! I am afraid their appearance would shock the æsthetic tastes of the cultured Western in spite of the boasted tie of mystical relationship.

The new movement, so far as England is concerned, seems to have found acceptance among ladies of suffragette tendencies. Inayat Khan in his confessions tells with refreshing candour of his reception by these ladies. He speaks of a vision he has of a new era for woman, and writes so earnestly that one feels it a great pity that he should have left his native land, where his energy might uplift the women of India whose lives are unspeakably sad. Many of his Western lady friends he has recognised as being worthy of initiation as Sufis, and they seem to have developed into ardent devotees of his teaching. They also put facilities in his way for propagandist work:

for a Sufi publishing society has been formed and is responsible for the publication of several interesting Sufi books, and of a quarterly magazine edited by Inayat Khan who has apparently a splendid command of English.

A brief consideration of some of the books will convey a good idea of the significance of the movement:

"*The Confessions of Inayat Khan*" is a small book modelled on the lines of the famous confessions of Al-Ghazali. The writer tells how he became dissatisfied with prayer to a God of whom he knew nothing, and of whose existence he had had no experience. He received some enlightenment through the exposition of a text from the Koran: and then realised the worthlessness of his reputation as a court musician. He began to study the various great religious systems of the world with the object of gaining the assurance of salvation, and was eventually brought into contact with the Sufis. At first he was amused at some of their practices: but one day was convinced that they held the secret for which he was seeking. The experience he had was in some points similar to the conversion of a sinful man from the error of his ways, to the life of holiness in the religion of Jesus Christ. He began to study the mystical doctrines of Sufism, and was initiated into one of the five Indian orders: being placed under the tuition of a spiritual guide (Murshid) for whom he developed an extraordinary regard. So intense was his devotion that when the Murshid died and urged his pupil to go into the West to propagate the faith of the Sufis he felt that the call was of God. And went to America in 1910 on a tour which was to include Europe. He succeeded in planting his Sufi order in San Francisco, London, Paris, and was in Russia when war broke out.

After his initiation into the Sufi order, he went for a year's instruction in the "mysticism of sound" under a noted hermit Sufi, and his passion for music became intensified by the knowledge gained. He goes so far as to claim that music is an essential way of salvation, maintaining that the ancient Sufis recognised its mystical power.

His views regarding the '*Maidŭb*' (attracted ones) are

interesting, he believes that these individuals have made such progress in the way of salvation that they are "absolutely unconscious of the external needs of life . . . they are fed and covered by others. Their negligence of the physical self, and their irresponsibility to the world, show at first sight that they are insane . . . but by their miraculous powers . . . they are distinguished as '*majdŭbs.*'" He says, "I once saw a *majdŭb.* . . . In order to make sure of his 'majdubiat,' I asked him whether he was a thief. He replied, 'Yes,' which conveyed to me that all good and bad attributes, as well as all names and forms, were considered his own by him, and that he was thus raised beyond good and evil, as well as the praise and blame of the world."

The aims of his mission to the West may be summed up as follows:

1. To establish human brotherhood.
2. To spread the wisdom of the Sufis.
3. To attain that perfection wherein mysticism is no longer a mystery.
4. To harmonise the East and West in music.
5. To produce Sufic literature.

His views on Morality, Devotion, Philosophy, and Mysticism are set forth in six small pages!

"*A Sufi Message of Spiritual Liberty*," by the same writer, is "an introduction to Sufism" and is a series of brief doctrinal paragraphs. "Allah" is declared to be the sum total of all personalities, having two aspects, the "Knower" and the "Known." As "Knower" He is God supreme, as "Known" he is Mohammed.

Joy and Peace are to be attained through realisation of Allah by the worship of nature and its source. "Truth is the basis of all religions and beliefs, and has always been covered with two garments—a turban on the head, and a robe over the body. The turban is made of mystery known as mysticism, and the robe is made of morality which is called religion!" "Ideal Perfection, termed by the Sufis '*Baka,*' is identical with *Najat* in Islam, *Nirvana* in Buddhism, *Mukti* in Hinduism, and Salvation in Christianity. It is the original state of Allah which every

being will eventually achieve. The three ways by which this goal is reached are firstly by Ignorance, secondly by Devotion, thirdly by Wisdom."

"Wisdom is consciousness in its pure essence," its attributes which belong especially to prophets are foresight, inspiration, intuition, clairvoyance, and clairaudience!

"Sufism," the writer declares, "has existed from the beginning of time, it is found in all religions. The prophet Mohammed founded a mystic order called the 'Sahaba-e-Safa' (knights of purity) and it is from this word 'Safa' that the name Sufi is derived." The spiritual bond that unites all Sufis is a miraculous force of Divine Illumination, which flows as it were like the mysterious electric fluid around a circuit illuminating the many globes as it passes. "Sufism is neither a religion nor a philosophy; neither Theism nor Atheism; it stands between the two and fills the gap. . . . The idea that it sprang from Islam or from any other religion is not necessarily true; yet it may rightly be called the spirit of Islam, as well as the pure essence of all religions and philosophies."

Under the heading "Manifestation," an attempt is made to describe the methods whereby "Allah" manifests Himself and indicates how man may achieve salvation—which is really "self realisation." Dreams, and ecstasy have a part in the complicated processes. Ecstasy has five aspects:

1. The Ecstasy of Dervishes, expressed by bodily movement.

2. The Ecstasy of Idealists, expressed in tears and sighs.

3. The Ecstasy of Devotees, experienced in mental and physical exaltation.

4. The Ecstasy of Saints, experienced in stillness.

5. The Ecstasy of Prophets, experienced in perfect self-realisation.

In a section entitled "Male and Female Aspect of Allah," we find an extraordinary conception of certain relationships in which ideas are expressed that appear to be blasphemous. One paragraph classifies Virgins under

three designations. The third class is said to be "Virgin in soul, who considers man as God. She can only give birth to a Divine child." This, with the following view, will perhaps enable us to estimate the real value of this modern form of Sufism. "*Polygamy may be natural to man, and monogamy* to the female . . . but monogamy is the ideal life." This statement is hardly in accord with the professed idealistic views of womanhood which we have noticed. A good test for any system of religion or ethics is to analyse their attitude towards women—Christianity in all its mystical aspects is dignified by its regard for woman—but almost all other religions fail in this respect.

"*Sufism*," by C. H. A. Bjerregaard, is a mystical exposition of the "Rubaiyat of Omar Khayyam," containing an interesting appreciation of Sufism, with a criticism of Fitzgerald's views and translations of the famous verses.

The "*Diwan of Inayat Khan*," and "*Songs of India*," are collections of beautiful verse—some of it testifying to Inayat Khan's poetical ability.

A movement such as this can never become popular. Its appeal must of necessity be confined to members of society who have intelligence and leisure enough to revel in its subtleties. The writer's impression is that the movement tends rather to sensualism than to mysticism, because it seeks to gratify æsthetic taste rather than spiritual aspiration. Christian mysticism seeks not to satisfy æsthetic craving: but finds its satisfaction in a spiritual contemplation of holy relationship which involves a purifying process before ever the pilgrim can enjoy its issues. It is based upon practical morality.

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TURKISH DIPLOMACY IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

In the poems of the Syrian Abu Tammam it is written: "the sword is more eloquent than the pen." Of the truth of this text the events of the last eighteen months* have furnished powerful evidence; diplomacy, however skilful, has played a very secondary rôle as compared with that of armed force; persuasion of neutrals has been accomplished by the display of might, by victories and by energy. The Turks were forced into an alliance with the powers of Central Europe by two warships which had been vainly pursued by British vessels; notwithstanding the fact that from this alliance they had nothing whatever to gain, but everything to lose; and since that fatal step they have merely sustained losses, with no prospect of compensation, whatever may be the ultimate result. They have indeed helped the Germans; but the Germans are not in the least likely to help them, even if the losses, material and moral, which the Ottoman Empire has sustained were capable of reparation. And if it be a sign of skilful diplomacy to gain a great deal giving nothing in return, German diplomacy must in this case be considered highly successful.

This was not always the course of affairs between the two nations. Until the proclamation of the Ottoman Constitution, the Turks in their negotiations with foreign powers exhibited remarkable astuteness. Compliments to their ability are paid by our great historian of the Crimean War; the policy of Napoleon III with that of Nicolas I produced a situation of the greatest difficulty, yet the Turks were well able to handle it; and all who have taken any interest in the more recent history of the Eastern Question are likely to have a just respect for the craft of Abd al-Hamid II. That astute if unscrupulous ruler

*Paper read before the Birmingham Historical Society, Jan. 28, 1916.

would have seen that by the great European War Turkey should lose nothing and gain everything.

The relations between Prussia and Turkey are of scarcely two centuries' standing. There were some insignificant dealings between Frederick William I and the Porte, chiefly relating to the procuring of tall recruits, who, as is well known, constituted the chief passion of this sovereign; the more serious dealings commenced when Frederick the Great had made his name in Europe. These relations culminated in an alliance between the two powers in the year 1790. During that period, viz., between the commercial treaty of 1761 and the alliance of 1790, Turkey looked to Germany for guidance and hoped for help. The diplomatic correspondence between the German ministers and their sovereigns and chiefs at home forms the basis of the Ottoman History of Zinkeisen who was privileged to go through the whole of it, and has published some of it *in extenso*, while in other cases he has given summaries. His work can be supplemented to a certain extent from the official Ottoman Chronicles and from the observations of other political agents of the time.

The relations between the two powers went through a curious transformation during this period. At its commencement it is the Prussian King who is anxious if possible to establish an offensive and defensive alliance with Turkey, and finds Turkey shy; at its close it is Turkey which is trying its hardest to force the Prussians into an offensive and defensive alliance, and finds Prussia shy; and though this alliance is nominally concluded, Turkey obtains nothing from it.

The first occasion whereon the value of Prussian friendship to Turkey might have shown itself was in the war between the latter and Russia which broke out in the year 1768 owing to the occupation of Poland by Russian troops. The Russians having scored considerable successes by both land and sea, fear of Slav aggression caused an understanding between the courts of Vienna and Berlin, and their ambassadors in Constantinople succeeded in persuading the Porte to commit the business of mediation entirely to these two powers, who it was hoped would

secure more favourable terms for Turkey than the latter could secure for itself unaided. The Austrians broke faith almost immediately by negotiating a secret treaty with Turkey whereby in return for a financial subsidy Austria would mobilize against Russia; and though the latter project was not carried out, some of the money was actually sent; of this the British ambassador in Constantinople got wind, and he obtained a copy of the secret treaty, which he sent to Berlin and St. Petersburg. The result of this was to bring about an alliance between Prussia and Russia, and an agreement between the three powers, Austria, Prussia and Russia, concerning the partition of Poland; nothing was eventually done for the benefit of Turkey, which after some futile negotiations at Bucharest resumed the struggle, and after some ephemeral successes was compelled in 1774 (July 16) to accept the humiliating terms of the peace of Kuchuk Kainarje. The right to intervene therefore was used by Frederick the Great to secure advantages for Prussia at the expense of Poland, but the Turks gained nothing whatever therefrom.

The terms of this peace left the relations between Russia and Turkey exceedingly strained, and the Empress almost immediately conceived the idea of driving the Turks forever out of Europe and re-establishing the Byzantine empire. Turkey besought the assistance of the King of Prussia in inducing the Empress to relax some of the harsher stipulations of the treaty; Frederick, having received a counter-appeal from Catherine, instructed his ambassador in Constantinople to inform the Porte that the treaty must be faithfully observed. The efforts of the ambassador were therefore wholly directed towards the execution of the Russian demands, and appear to have been of some value in this direction.

In 1774, Frederick the Great wished to withdraw his agent from Constantinople in order to save the small sum allotted to this minister, but was persuaded by the Russians to retain him; a fact which seems to indicate that the King did not now anticipate that there was much to be gained from endeavouring to influence the foreign

policy of the Porte; and indeed the Empress evidently hoped to make the King act more or less as her instrument in enforcing her will on Turkey. The fact that Frederick was unwilling to do this appears to have led the Empress ere long to abandon the Prussian alliance for that with Austria, which she was at this time scheming. Still his agent, Herr von Gaffron, was finally instructed to bring pressure to bear on the Porte to fulfill the terms of the treaty of Kuchuk Kainarje and relieve the strain of the relations with Russia. One of Herr von Gaffron's despatches contains an account of a four hours' interview between him and the Turkish cabinet, wherein the Turks began with loud eulogies of Frederick, but ended by demanding what proof he had ever given of the friendly disposition which he professed. To this demand no answer could be given; and ere the end of the year Frederick set an example which his present successor professed at one time to have followed, though the statement was received with some scepticism. There being a prospect of war breaking out again between Turkey and Russia on the subject of the Crim Tartars, Frederick supplied the Empress with a plan of campaign, and even promised to pay in advance the subsidies which the treaty between the two powers imposed. His purpose was to secure, if possible, Russian aid against Austria in the event of a war breaking out with the latter power on the subject of the Bavarian succession. It appears that the Foreign Office in Constantinople was well aware of these moves, and placed no confidence whatever in the professions of Frederick. On the occasion of a further offer on his part in the spring of 1778 to mediate between Turkey and Russia, the Turkish minister objected that the necessary correspondence between Berlin and St. Petersburg would take four months, and the Porte could not afford to wait so long. Ultimately, in August 1778, the mediation of France was accepted, resulting in the convention of Ainali Kawak, whereby the provisions of the treaty of Kuchuk Kainarje were readjusted. The statement of Carlyle, that Frederick, by his industries and world diplomacies, had got the Turks, who had been giving

trouble, compelled into peace again, has some truth, but very little.* It is interesting to find that the demand of the Russians for the erection of a Greek Church in Pera was resisted by the Christians resident in Pera, to whom the protectorate of Russia over the Greek Christians resident in the Ottoman Empire did not at that time appeal, and the nineteenth century showed that this claim was destined to lead to serious trouble.

The diplomacy of the European powers resembles the moving of pieces on a chess-board; any move affects the positions of all the pieces. The action of France in arranging for the preservation of peace between Russia and Turkey seemed to free the power of Russia to support Prussia against Austria; Austria then for the time was alienated from France. She was likely to avenge herself on Turkey.

In July 1779, the Turkish foreign minster, Abd al-Razzak, who had taken a prominent part in securing the convention of Ainali Kawak, started the idea of a triple alliance between Turkey, Russia and Prussia; the two latter were, as has been seen, already allied, though the results had not been very conspicuous. The idea was at first communicated by a confidential agent of Abd al-Bazzak to the dragoman of the Prussian embassy; the explanation of this procedure being that any direct communication between the Turkish minister and the Prussian agent could not fail to give rise to surmises; that further any official communication would place the head of the minister in danger from the Sultan in the event of the suggestion failing to succeed; while the idea of approaching the Prussian agent on the subject *before* any communication had been made to the Russians whom the project equally involved, was based on the belief that the Prussian King would not be deterred from entering into alliance with Turkey by any of those religious prejudices which might affect the politics of the Russian Empress.

Herr von Gaffron, the Prussian agent in Constantinople, immediately communicated the project to his royal master in Berlin, who commanded his ministers to make out the

* Frederick X, 123.

draft of a treaty of alliance which, however, was to be defensive only; in the event of any attack being made on the European possessions of any of them, the other two should come to its help either by the despatch of troops to the spot or by effecting a diversion. Frederick the Great was very much in earnest about the scheme which he regarded as the only possible barrier that could be set in the way of Austrian aggression. The project was communicated by the representative of Frederick in Petersburg, Count Goerz, to the Russian foreign minister, Count Panin, who himself welcomed the idea, but presently found that the mere notion of an alliance with Turkey encountered the very greatest repugnance in the mind of his imperial mistress Catherine, who, indeed, having conceived it her mission in life to put an end to the Ottoman Empire in Europe, could scarcely be expected to entertain a scheme which would compel her to lend her forces for its perpetuation. Even an ingenious method which was suggested by Goerz, whereby instead of an outspoken alliance between the three powers, an article should be added to the alliance between Russia and Prussia, permitting the accession of other powers, was likewise summarily rejected by the Empress.

Before the end of 1779, Abd al-Razzak, the original promoter of the scheme, had fallen out of favour in Constantinople, and been banished to Aidin; apparently on the one hand the Austrians had got wind of the transaction, and the *internuntius* of that power been entrusted with sums of money sufficient to influence the policy of the Grand Vizier. On the other hand, the voices of persons who were genuinely hostile to Russia, were making themselves felt. Ultimately Frederick the Great himself abandoned the project as impracticable. It had, however, been highly favoured by the Prussian agent, von Gaffron, who continued to urge its advantages in his despatches to his master after the latter had realised the impossibility of arranging an alliance between three powers, when two of them were adverse to it. The immediate effect of the negotiations was to loosen the ties between Russia and Prussia, Frederick the Great on the

one hand feeling vexed at the summary rejection of a plan by which he had set store, while on the other hand the Empress was wounded at the want of sympathy which the scheme evinced with her grandiose idea of freeing Europe from an Islamic power.

In the year 1780 there occurred two of those interviews between potentates which in our time, too, seem to influence the trend of politics so strongly. The Emperor Joseph II of Austria arranged a visit to Mohilow in the Russian part of Poland, where he was met by the Empress Catherine thence proceeding to Moscow and Petersburg; while in September of the same year a visit was paid to Catherine at Petersburg by Frederick William, the nephew and afterwards the successor of Frederick the Great. The former visit was regarded by the diplomats of the time as a doubtful success, since they thought the Emperor had displayed his weak rather than his strong sides, and the private impressions which the Empress communicated in confidence were very different from the lofty eulogies which she bestowed on him in documents intended for the public eye; yet it appears that even the acute Frederick was mistaken in thinking that visit would remain without effect on European politics. For the rest of his life the Emperor Joseph II appears to have conducted a private correspondence with the Russian Empress in a cipher known only to themselves, and, as will be seen, she was ultimately able to secure his co-operation in her schemes. For the visit of the Prussian prince preparation in the style characteristic of Prussian methods was now made; careful character sketches of the persons with whom the prince would be brought in contact were supplied, and his visit was represented to the Prussians as a great success, and favourably contrasting with that of the Austrian Emperor some months before. It would seem, however, that the Prussians were hoodwinked in this matter, also.

To the end of 1780 the minister of the Sultan in Constantinople continued to urge the Prussian agent to bring the proposed triple alliance into the region of actuality, and the agent was instructed to assure the Turks that only

a certain amount of time was required for this; although the Ottoman cabinet had received hints that the plan of Catherine for the destruction of the Ottoman power and the resuscitation of a Byzantine Empire under her infant grandson Constantine had been communicated by her to the Emperor Joseph on the occasion of their meeting, and that the co-operation of the latter had been secured.

As 1780 came to an end, the news of the death of Maria Theresa, who had played a pacific rôle, brought fresh alarm to the Porte; and the new Grand Vizier did his utmost to induce Frederick the Great to conclude an alliance with Turkey, on the ground of their common interest in opposing Austrian schemes of aggrandisement. Frederick, unwilling to commit himself, urged on the Turkish minister the desirability of regularly studying the Prussian official gazette in order to obtain the most exact information about the state of politics in Europe in the light which the Prussian King wished to throw upon them. He had learned that a sort of Press Bureau had recently been established in Constantinople, in which the more important European journals were collected and translated into Turkish. The King also sent to the Ottoman capital a plan for the reform of the army, which for the time the Ottoman ministers found it inexpedient to adopt. Still the kind of blind faith in Prussia which has come to the front so fatally in our time appears even then to have filled the minds of the leading Turkish statesmen; according to the Prussian agent their sole idea of foreign politics was to do what Frederick advised.

In 1783 the aggressive attitude of Russia in the Crimea, and the fact that the Austrian Emperor had now been induced by the Empress to promise her his aid in her schemes, and indeed issue a joint note to the Porte, led the latter to turn with more and more expectation towards Prussia in the hope of obtaining an alliance. The suggestion was made by the Turkish foreign minister to the Prussian agent that, owing to the common fear of Austria, which now was more and more approaching Russia, the Prussian King should abandon his alliance with the latter and endeavour to form a triple alliance with Turkey and

France. The King's reply to this project was that it was not in his power for the moment to do anything for Turkey but that the latter power might be sure that when the opportunity arose he would not fail to avail himself of it.

It certainly seemed as if Russia were bent on war with the Ottomans, since a series of demands were formulated which went far beyond the terms of either the peace or the convention, and to most of these the Ottoman cabinet tamely submitted at the advice of its supposed European friends, through fear of the united forces of Austria and Russia. In July of the same year, 1783, after formal occupation of the Crimea by the Russians and the enforced abdication of the Khan whose claims the Empress had previously favoured, the announcement was made that an actual treaty had been concluded between Austria and Russia, mainly directed against the Porte; as this treaty had been arranged between the two sovereigns corresponding in their private cipher, it was called a treaty *par billet doux*. It was the opinion of Frederick that this alliance was aimed more against himself than against the Porte, and although the Russian foreign minister gave an assurance that it was contracted without prejudice to the alliance between Russia and Prussia, the former was asked how it was possible at once to be the ally of two powers whose interests were likely to clash.

The diplomatic struggle which went on during this year 1783 is complicated and hard to follow. It would appear that the principle of compensation, of which we have recently heard so much, was then applied by the Emperor of Austria to the new acquisitions of Russia; if the latter power was to be allowed aggrandisement at the expense of Turkey, Austria should also be allowed to take her slice; at one time this power suggested that in lieu of territory pecuniary compensation paid either by the Porte only, or by Russia and the Porte jointly might be accepted; but this shameless proposition seems to have been withdrawn. Ultimately, through the influence of the British ambassador at Constantinople and it would seem through payment of a sum of money to the head of the war-party at the capital by the Russian ambassador,

the Porte was induced to recognise the occupation of the Crimea by Russia; and on January 8, 1784, a treaty was signed giving Russia all she wanted, in such a form, however, as to spare the feelings of the Porte; the former treaties and conventions were simply renewed, with omission of the clauses therein which guaranteed the independence of the Crimea.

This diplomatic success on the part of Russia, however, meant the disgrace of the Prussian agent in Constantinople, who was charged with addressing a memoir to the Turkish cabinet wherein the latter was advised by the Prussian King to adopt a firm attitude in defence of Ottoman rights against Russian aggression. The truth of this matter is hard to enucleate, since it is certain that Frederick would gladly have seen the Turks take this line, but was not himself willing to risk anything on their account. Still, after taking enormous pains to exculpate himself with Catherine, he determined on recalling his agent, Gaffron, who, whether guilty in this matter or not, had also through a piece of stupidity enabled the Austrian Foreign Office to get hold of the private cipher of the Prussians. When Gaffron returned to Berlin he was in addition thrown into prison, partly owing to the accusations of his successor, Diez, who further charged him with having been in the pay of the Russian ambassador in Constantinople. And indeed it appears to be true that Gaffron, owing to the inadequacy of the pay allowed him by Frederick, had been compelled to borrow money from his Russian colleague, a fact which did not prove corruption, since the European diplomats in this city formed a sort of brotherhood, in spite of their having to work against each other. After the death of Frederick the case was reconsidered by the new King, Frederick William II, who caused the unfortunate diplomat to be released, and to be awarded a pension.

His successor in the office of agent at the Turkish capital was an Orientalist, who had had no experience of diplomacy, and was at first unable to write diplomatic French with a reasonable degree of accuracy. The place was, however, advertised, and few persons with qualifications

were willing to exile themselves in the service of the Prussian King for an inadequate remuneration.

Diez's first report on the condition of the Ottoman Empire was to the effect that it was tottering, being thoroughly corrupt. Frederick the Great appears to have regarded this description as exaggerated, and to have held that in the event of any imminent danger the Turks would be able to pull themselves together again.

The instructions given to Diez were to avoid holding out any definite hopes of an alliance between Prussia and Turkey, and even before the new *chargé d'affaires* had his first audience with the Sultan, owing to the appearance of trouble from the side of Austria, he had to answer the question what side Frederick would take in the event of a war between Austria and Turkey: to which he gave the diplomatic reply that he felt confident no such serious difference would arise between the two powers. Diez himself very soon arrived at the conclusion that Turkey was bound within ten years to be completely overthrown by Russia and urged on his royal master the danger which would result to Europe if this should come about. His assurances to Frederick that the Turks were devoted to the cause of Prussia failed to stand the test to which they were immediately put. Frederick desired a license for the establishment of a Prussian consulate in Jassy, but was unwilling to give any concession of actual value in return; and the agents of Russia and Austria as well as the representative of France vehemently opposed the demand for a consulate. So long as the authorisation of the Sultan was withheld, the Prussian who had undertaken the office of consul at this place could afford his compatriots no effective protection, whence those compatriots declined to pay him any fees; and the Prussian Foreign Office also refused him a stipend. The authorisation was ultimately granted in 1786 as a compliment to Friederich Wilhelm II, who succeeded Frederick the Great this year, the Turks hoping thereby to advance a step in their plan of securing the Prussian alliance, and at the same time producing estrangement between the Russians and the Prussians.

Towards the end of the life of Frederick the Great his prime minister, Count Hertzberg, began to take the notion of an alliance with Turkey seriously, and in a private correspondence with Diez expressed his hopes of being able to realise some such project in the event of the death of Frederick. The occurrence of this did not for the moment make much difference in the line taken by the Prussian Foreign Office, though in order to give the words of Diez greater weight he was promoted from a *chargé d'affaires* to the rank of an extraordinary envoy. A proposal was made by the Turkish Foreign Office that a representative of the Sultan should be established in Berlin; Prussian economy was, however, against this, and Diez succeeded in inducing the Porte to abandon the idea.

At the beginning of 1787 the new Turkish foreign minister pressed on Diez the desirability of concluding an alliance between the two powers and Diez himself thought that it would be possible to frame an alliance in such terms that Prussia could get substantial benefit without pledging herself to do anything in return; this view was not then shared at headquarters, and Diez received orders to temporise. Friederich Wilhelm II was at first exceedingly anxious to do nothing which could offend the Russian Empress, and even a proposal that Prussia should undertake conjointly with France the task of mediating between Turkey and Russia on the subject of fresh differences that had arisen was rejected owing to the apprehension of difficulties with Russia. The urgent representations of Diez, who maintained that now was the opportunity for Prussia to play a leading part in European politics, fell on deaf ears.

The opportunity of playing it in this particular way was soon lost. In August 1787, war broke out afresh between Turkey and Russia, commencing with the imprisonment of the Russian agent, Bulgakoff, in the Seven Towers, according to Turkish practice on these occasions. Austria was drawn into the struggle before the end of the year, when the Emperor ordered a surprise attack on Belgrade, which, however, failed completely. Actual war between Austria and Turkey was declared in February

1788, when the Emperor declared that he, too, was the avenger of Europe bent on freeing it from a barbarous race. Russia this time possessed a general of the first order in Suworoff, and the operations were in the main favourable to the allied empires.

Diez had urged on the Ottoman foreign minister the desirability of setting Bulgakoff free as a special favour to the Prussian King, which, however, was declined; meanwhile Hertzberg came forward with—or rather communicated to Diez—his private plan for settling all troubles, and gaining something substantial for Prussia. The plan was that Turkey should hand over Moldavia and Wallachia to Austria, the Crimea, Oczakow and Bessarabia to Russia, whereas the integrity of the rest of the Turkish Empire should be guaranteed by France and Prussia; the last power to receive as compensation a favourable commercial treaty and the guarantee of its Mediterranean shipping against the corsairs. Prussia, however, was to be sole mediator between Turkey and its enemies. This plan on the excellence of which Hertzberg prided himself not a little was received somewhat coldly by Diez, who declared that the Porte would not accept such terms until defeat had rendered them unavoidable. It is noticeable with what difficulty diplomacy was conducted at this time, when in consequence of the war correspondence between Berlin and Constantinople had to go via Venice, and a letter took two months or more to reach its destination. Hertzberg's plan was, however, adopted by Friederich Wilhelm II, who despatched a commissioner to Constantinople to arrange the matter with Diez; this person was a Lieut. Col. von Goetze, who took for some reason or other the pseudonym Schmitt. In the instructions given these agents no secret is made of the fact that the King felt it his duty to utilize the present situation for the benefit of Prussia. The best thing for Prussia would be that the Turks should be induced to defend themselves manfully, and so protract the war; if, however, they should be too decidedly beaten to permit of this, then the commissioners should do their utmost to see that peace should be made exclusively through Prus-

sian mediation. Any demand which the Porte might make for armed assistance as an equivalent should be met with some plausible excuse, as the King of Prussia did not wish to meet the armed forces of the two empires combined. The King, however, was bent on securing yet further advantages for Prussia than those suggested in the first instructions issued by Hertzberg to Diez. These were to be at the expense of Austria which was to return to Poland certain provinces appropriated in the partition treaty of 1773, while Poland was to hand over to Prussia Danzig, Thorn and certain other frontier districts to be specified later. The plan was to be kept secret until the Turks had lost all hope of maintaining their hold on Moldavia and Wallachia.

Diez did not believe in the possibility of Prussia getting something very considerable for nothing in this style, and urged on his chiefs the desirability of attacking Austria, causing a revolt in Hungary, and ultimately appropriating such valuable portions of their neighbours' territory as would render Prussia superior to them for all time and indeed make of it the first power in Europe. Meanwhile, in accordance with his instructions, he kept urging on the Ottoman cabinet the propriety of constituting the Prussian King sole mediator, as a way of securing the friendship of the most powerful prince in Europe, who gave laws to the whole continent. To this demand he could for a time get no answer; finally on February 9, 1789, a conference was held expressly for the purpose of dealing with this subject and a simultaneous demand was made that the Prussian officer should be allowed to proceed to the headquarters of the Ottoman army. The second demand was refused pointblank, and the Prussian envoy was told that the price of the first demand was the conclusion of a formal alliance between Prussia and Turkey. This alliance was, the Turkish foreign minister demanded, to ensure the restitution to Turkey of the Crimea, as well as of certain places seized by the Austrians during the present war; and was to include a guarantee that Great Britain, now an ally of Prussia, should keep the straits of Gibraltar closed against Russian ships of

war. This conference led to nothing; but when it was resumed, the Ottoman minister put forth as his first demand an immediate declaration of war on the part of Prussia against the two empires. This being declined, it was not possible to obtain anything more than an undertaking that Prussia should be offered the choice of acting as mediator, a promise which was afterwards so whittled down as to be unsubstantial.

Count Hertzberg nevertheless insisted that Diez should do the impossible: compel the Turks to agree to make peace only through Prussian mediation, while promising nothing on the part of Prussia as an equivalent for this privilege. The new Sultan Selim III, whose accession took place in 1789, made no difference in the situation as between Turkey and Prussia. This new and energetic ruler was prepared to bestow all sorts of favours on Prussia on the condition that Prussia entered into the war on the side of Turkey, but refused all concessions on any other terms. The campaign went badly for the Ottomans in the second half of 1789, and this fact rendered the Prussian prospect of acquisition at the expense of the belligerents less and less likely of realisation. The foreign policy of the Porte was directed by one Rāshid Efendi, who appears to have been too astute to be deceived by Diez; and Diez plotted to get him removed from office. The plot did not succeed, and ended in the chief supporter of Diez at the court being banished. Some probability having appeared that the Turks would make peace of their own initiative, Diez was at last authorised to offer the Porte a defensive and offensive alliance with Prussia, guaranteeing the former the possession of a certain part of its territory. After long delays and hesitations the Ottoman minister professed his readiness to accept this proposal, into which, however, he introduced a clause whereby the Prussian King pledged himself to continue the war until the Crimea and all other territory which had been taken from the Ottomans by Russia and Austria had been recovered; and to declare war against Russia and Austria not later than the spring of 1790. The first of these alterations went far beyond the terms

of the draft that had issued from the Prussian Foreign Office, while the second substituted what was clear and precise for what was vague. Diez, who had received the sharpest rebukes from Berlin for his want of success, and was threatened with punishment if he continued to fail, consented to accept the terms now offered by the Turks; but even so found the Ottomans procrastinating, and only by threatening to leave Constantinople did he get the contract signed on January 31. The contracting parties swore to keep the transaction wrapped in secrecy until the spring.

Before this had been accomplished Hertzberg had already decided on the recall of Diez, though he wrote to this diplomat to declare that he was doing his utmost to prevent his recall. When the news reached Berlin that the Turks had induced the Prussian agent to commit his master to promises which went far beyond anything that had ever been contemplated, indignation against Diez rose high; not very justly, since the ambassador had been urged to come to terms with the Ottoman Foreign Office, and might well hold that the Prussian King was prepared to make some considerable sacrifice. Apparently, however, he had at the most expected to have to declare war on Austria and was unwilling to have the burden of fighting Russia also, although the alliance with the latter power had lapsed for some years. The news that Diez was to be recalled was spread abroad by his colleagues at Constantinople, and he found some difficulty in getting advances from the bankers for the sums, amounting to 150,000 piastres, which he had promised the Ottoman ministers for arranging the treaty. Diez left Constantinople in May, and reached Berlin in September. He was treated slightly better than his predecessor Saffron in that he was not actually imprisoned; he was, however, neglected for many months, and had great difficulty in obtaining reimbursement of the expenses which he had incurred. He obtained no further diplomatic employment, in spite of the fact that Hertzberg had promised him something of the kind, and the Ottoman Foreign Office against the usual practice had ex-

pressed the hope that some post of importance would be found for him.

The signing of the treaty was followed very speedily by the death of the Austrian Emperor Joseph II, whose successor was far more peaceably inclined. The Prussians had now the opportunity of showing to what extent they meant to stand by the terms to which Diez had committed them, and which occasioned very great sensation in Europe. In the correspondence which ensued between the Prussian King and the new King of Hungary it appeared very clearly that the Prussians wished to enrich themselves at the expense of one or other of the belligerent parties, but that the interests of Turkey formed no great concern of theirs; indeed, the utmost which they were prepared to enforce was the restoration to the Porte of territories which it had lost during the present war, not that of the Crimea which had been taken from them before it broke out. An endeavour was made to arrange matters between Prussia and Austria at the conference of Reichenbach, which commenced its sittings near the end of June 1790; and by the beginning of August the Convention of Reichenbach was actually ratified, wherein the ambitious designs of Hertzberg were abandoned and the principle of the *status quo ante bellum* adopted by both Prussia and Austria as a basis for the arrangement of peace between Austria and Turkey. The rejection of Hertzberg's plans by the Prussian King were due not a little to the insistence on the part of Great Britain and Holland that they should be represented at the conference, but also to a multitude of advisers, some of whom were able to make their opinions prevail with Friederich Wilhelm against Count Hertzberg.

Nothing then came ultimately out of these lengthy negotiations and promises. The immediate result of the Reichenbach Convention was that a truce was arranged between Turkey and Austria, and terms of peace between the two powers were discussed at the Congress of Sistova; but the war continued between Turkey and Russia, wherein the latter scored very considerable successes. The Porte importuned its Prussian ally to declare war

against Russia, but the Prussian King contented himself with giving good advice; declaring himself unable to attack Russia without the aid of an English fleet in the Baltic, which was not forthcoming, public opinion in Great Britain being too decidedly against a war with Russia in the interest of Turkey and Prussia. In consequence he declined to take any part in the negotiations for peace between Turkey and Russia which followed the treaty of Sistova, thus abandoning the right, which Hertzberg had been so anxious for Prussia to acquire, of mediating between the two empires, and gaining something considerable at the expense of one or both. In the main it does not appear that the Turkish statesmen had lost anything by entertaining the fallacious promise of Prussian help, though conceivably they may have held out longer than they would otherwise have been disposed to do in consequence of the futile treaty. The whole plan of Count Hertzberg was described as a scheme of partition, exchange and depredation, for the benefit of Prussia, based on the naive supposition that something considerable was to be had for nothing.

The German historian who went through all the diplomatic correspondence wherein this story is told concludes that Prussia had an opportunity at this time of playing a great part in the affairs of the Near East, which was forfeited through the belief that something was to be had for nothing, and that it was possible to win without venturing. The Prussian personages who figure on the scene all play disagreeable parts. There is no *esprit de corps* between the Prussian diplomatists; Diez begins his career at Constantinople by sending home accusations against his unfortunate predecessor, while he himself has to submit to somewhat similar treatment from the special commissioner who is sent to co-operate with him. Count Hertzberg plays a double game with Diez, and his sovereign plays a double game with him. Perfidious Albion gets blamed when affairs go wrong, and both in Constantinople and Petrograd the British agents seem quite able to out-manœuvre the Prussian; the English ambassador in the former city, Ainslie, was called by Diez

a monster the like of whom never existed on the earth; had a Turk behaved like him, Diez was assured, he would have been decapitated a dozen times.

On the other hand the conduct of the Turkish statesmen appears throughout to deserve commendation for astuteness and even at times for honesty. The days had gone by when the Ottoman Empire could resist single-handed such a combination as that of Russia and Austria; those statesmen did wisely in endeavouring to obtain the help of Prussia, but exhibited still greater wisdom in declining to make concessions to that greedy power without making certain of receiving due compensation. Not until they thought they had secured it did they admit a Prussian officer to their headquarters; and when they found they had been deceived that Prussian officer's life was no longer safe. Their modern representatives have done otherwise, thereby extinguishing the Ottoman Empire equally whether their allies are successful, or, as we still hope and trust, are crushed to rise no more.

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THE BIBLE IN PERSIA

THE late Rev. Dr. Bruce affirmed that probably the chief reason why Christianity was wiped out completely in Persia by the Zoroastrian persecution, under Sapor II, in the fourth century, A.D., was the absence of a translation of the Scriptures in the tongue of the people. There is, as far as I can learn, no record of the Bible or part of it having been translated into Persian before the thirteenth century.* The enlightened Mongol Prince Abaka Khan, the son of Hulaku Khan and great grandson of Jenghiz Khan, who married the daughter of the Greek Emperor Michael, is believed to have become a Christian and to have used his influence to have part of the Scriptures translated. It is certain that the Gospels were translated into Persian a few years after his death in 1282 A.D. A later version was published in London about 1652. Then followed Henry Martyn's translation of the New Testament in 1811, which by some Persian scholars was considered "a masterpiece of perfection." The Rev. William Glen finished the translation of the Old Testament in 1841. The first revision of the New Testament was completed by Dr. Bruce in 1882, and in 1895 he revised the whole Bible, which has since been the only version in use throughout Persia. At the present moment an emendation of Dr. Bruce's latest revision is being undertaken, which, it is hoped, will be completed within two years.

The Moslems of Persia to whom we seek to give the Word of God, probably number 8,500,000. (Their number has been placed as high as 13,000,000 and as low as 4,300,000. No census having been taken, any approach to accuracy is impossible.)

For nearly four years the circulation of the Scriptures

*The Jewish Encyclopedia, however, article Bible gives an account of Old Testament translations prior to this century.—ED.

in this country has been controlled by the British and Foreign Bible Society. During this period the books sold have considerably increased. The total circulation in 1912 was 6,648 and in 1915 it was over 20,000. The sale of Persian Scriptures, practically all to Moslems, has increased from 3,487 volumes in 1912 to 11,124 in 1915. One very encouraging feature of the work among Moslems is the greater number of New Testament portions that are sold as compared with Old Testament portions, *e.g.*, in 1914 Old Testament portions totalled 1,511 whereas Gospels were 3,405, and last year the figures were Old Testament portions, 4,965, Gospels, 6,156.

Those who know Persia well speak of the changes that have come about, during the past few years, in favour of Mission work. The mullahs have lost much of the power they had over the people, and not a few of the educated look upon their religious leaders with contempt and aversion. Some openly declare that the backward condition of the country is largely due to the Moslem religion and to its zealous upholders, the mullahs and the seyyids.

Less than a dozen years ago when the colporteurs visited the sacred cities of this land they had to work secretly, and if they disposed of half a dozen copies they thought they had done well. Within the past two months one of these cities was visited by a worker from the British and Foreign Bible Society, and in ten days, in spite of the opposition of the mullahs, he sold over 400 copies of the Scriptures to Moslems. In that time he also met three men who gave every evidence of being earnest enquirers; two of them have since left the place and gone to a neighbouring town to receive further instruction from a missionary.

The following incidents, culled from the reports of colporteurs and missionary helpers, illustrate the truth of the Psalmist, "Thy word is a lamp unto my feet and a light unto my path." A missionary writes, "In a village a boy bought a New Testament and spent his time when not at work in the fields reading it and explaining it to groups of villagers. Though an uncultured lad, knowing nothing but how to read Persian, he had a wonderful

insight into Scripture truth. I was amazed at his ready interpretation of difficult passages, and his lucid exposition. By the daily reading of God's Word to his neighbours he has awakened a real interest in Christianity." The same worker also sends the following, "In another village an old landowner secured a Bible, and became engrossed in its perusal. The Word became a light unto his path. He became convinced of the errors of his old Moslem faith, and now professes himself a follower of Christ." A colporteur writes, "Through the reading of the New Testament a Persian seyyid came out boldly for Christ, professed his faith before his companions, suffered persecution, and sought to win others to Christ."

As far as Bible work in this land is concerned, our greatest difficulty is to find intelligent and consecrated men for colportage. The idea, fairly prevalent even among missionaries, that any kind of man is good enough for such work, is probably due to ignorance of what colportage work means among Moslems. The colporteur is, of necessity, an evangelist as well as a seller of The Book. To make any headway even as a seller he must have a good knowledge of the Book he carries, be able to explain passages, and he should also have, if he is to work with any confidence, a knowledge of the Koran, especially of its teaching regarding Christ and the Scriptures.

One of Persia's great needs to hasten its evangelisation is the increase of Mission schools in unoccupied towns and large villages, with capable, consecrated native teachers in control. Thus readers would be produced where at present there are none, the ten per cent of literates being found only in a few centres.

The future of Persia from a missionary point of view is bright. Better means of communication will bring about closer touch with Europe; and greater religious liberty with the spread of education will result in many of the Persians, who are less conservative and more intellectual than Arabs, Turks or Egyptians, forsaking Islam and seeking in Christianity that which can satisfy their intellectual and moral life.

A. HOPE.

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THE PORTER-LADS OF TUNISIA

AMONG the several classes of native life which make up the large towns of Tunisia and which perhaps appear the least hopeful from the Gospel point of view is the porter class. Belonging as they do mostly to the Bedouins who, after wandering from place to place, settle on the outskirts of the towns, their lives are free, wild and unrestricted. From his earliest days each child has to seek out a living often by begging or theft.

It is characteristic of Islam that this class is entirely neglected—no effort whatever being made to educate or help them, but, on the contrary, they are looked upon as a nuisance—only to be kept in order by the police. In the town they are to be seen in quiet corners playing pitch and toss or hanging about the *cafés chantants* picking up cigarette ends, listening to the foul conversation of the drinkers, only to be kicked and cuffed by everyone. Thus in time, by force of circumstances, they add to the numbers of the criminal class, some of them drifting to the lowest dens of vice and wickedness.

Gathering around the market place in such numbers, offering to carry home the morning's purchases of housekeepers, they become a positive nuisance, and the police, in order to bring them more directly under their control, compelled them to take out licenses which were supplied them with a numbered disc for a small sum. They are so irrepressible and high-spirited that only by the application of a small whip can the policeman whose duty it is to look after them keep them in any kind of order.

How to lay hold of these lads was a problem which could only be solved by carefully noting their peculiar position and its limitations, and by finding out the natural possibilities. On the one hand their inability to read and

total lack of any kind of training was a drawback, but their good memories and love of shouting were the assets. A cup of native tea or handful of nuts was sufficient for a first attraction and the promise of a simple native feast as a reward of regular attendance after six months, enabled a register to be kept and thus created the first element of order.

The method of teaching is the constant repetition of specially chosen texts in a colloquial form, which contain a clear teaching regarding sin and the Saviour, and certain passages of Scripture such as the first Psalm, also in colloquial form. This is interspersed by vociferous singing of Gospel hymns—simple and suitable to their comprehension—accompanying the chorus with clapping of hands in true native style. There is never a dull service among them; their natures are thoroughly restive and any kind of stiffness would be fatal to success. A loving sympathy for their need and their untoward circumstances, with a firm and strict adherence to impartiality and straight dealing with each other, and an unlimited fund of patience, and you find there is a response to your appeal and in their rough manner a certain affection which disarms suspicion and makes way for the Truth.

Their very ignorance is an advantage as they have never been taught as the town lads in the Koranic schools passages of the Koran chosen expressly to deny Christian doctrine. Their minds are therefore not suspicious but open to receive the Truth—the interpretation of which they are so ready to read in the conduct of the leader towards them.

Their despised position is also an advantage, as no one troubles about them and all think they are beyond any comprehension of religion.

As to results, if one has only to judge from the social standpoint there are benefits to the lads, for they make better porter boys; and some have become house servants and obtained other respectable positions in business whilst several have joined the ranks and are fighting

under the French in France. In addition, who can estimate the power of the Word committed to memory during the most impressionable years of life? Many of us after years of effort among the adults of Islam have come to the conclusion that the hope of the Gospel is in the rising generation.

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WHOSE WIFE SHALL SHE BE IN THE RESURRECTION? THE MOSLEM ANSWER

IT OFTEN increases our appreciation of Christ's teaching to note how the questions that were put to Him are answered in other religions. The Sadducees, in one of their attempts to catch Jesus by their captious questions, asked Him, "If a woman has been the wife of seven husbands, which one shall she have in the resurrection?" (Matt. 22:23–33). They thought the problem was so obviously impossible of solution, or even of consideration, that it proved conclusively that there was no resurrection, and no next world.

Jesus' answer, however, showed that the problem was no problem at all, for the simple reason that there was no such thing as marriage in the next world.

The Mohammedans answer that ancient question of the Sadducees in still another way. They reject the Sadducean solution, for they believe most strongly in the resurrection and the next world. The Christian position does not satisfy them, for Mohammed and all his followers have wanted the marriage relationship to continue in the next world. This relationship is not to exist only between the Moslem and the seventy-two *Haur-el-ain*, the Houries, that he is to have there. It is to exist also with the wives that he has had on the earth, if he wants them. Of course if he does not want them, he need not have them. He could divorce them in this life, and the Garden is not a place where a Moslem is to have less liberty than he had on the earth, not by any means! He was limited to four legal wives in this world. He gets seventy-two at least, in the next. In this lower life, capacity and satiety limited and restricted his appetite for food and drink. In the next life he has 300 maidens of the Garden bringing him 300 golden dishes of food and

drink at a time, and the last morsel is to be as agreeable as the first! So a Moslem retains his wives in the next world only if he wants them. Therefore, the very best way for a Mohammedan woman to be sure of getting into the Garden is always to behave so that her husband will want her there!

But that does not solve all of the problem for the Moslem men. It only applies when a man has been married to women who have had no other husbands. But suppose, as is so unfortunately frequently the case, that a woman has been divorced once or twice or even a dozen times. Which husband shall have her then, the first, or the last, or some one in between? It is the Sadducees' question precisely.

The Moslem answers are found in the Traditions. These Traditions may not represent authentic historical fact, but they do present authentic Moslem opinion upon the subjects. In this case the opinions are so various that they leave the problem as uncertain and as unsolved for themselves as it was before.

The following translations are made from the *Mukhtasar Tadhkirat* (Abridged Memoirs) of Al Imam Abu Abdallah Al Qartaby, and the chapter is headed, "If a man marries a maiden in this world, will she be his wife in the next?"

One tradition assigns the wife to her first husband:

"Malik (Allah, who is exalted, have mercy on him) reported that Zubair bin Al Awwam (Allah be pleased with him) often beat his wife, Isma bint Abu Bakr the Faithful (Allah be pleased with them both). He beat her with a great beating one day when she went out without his permission, after he had tied her hair to the hair of her partner wife (*lit.* 'wife of her husband'). The partner wife was the more modest, so that Isma got the greater beating. Then she complained to her father, Abu Bakr. But he said to her, 'Little daughter, have patience, for Zubair is a righteous man, and it may be that he will be your husband in the Garden (Paradise), for I have heard that if a man marries a virgin, he will be married to her in the Garden."

This tradition incidentally indicates that a man may be a chronic wife-beater and still be a pious Moslem.

Two traditions are given which say that a woman will belong to the last of her husbands:

"Maawia bin Abu Sufyan asked in marriage the Mother of Al Darda, and she refused and said, 'I have heard the Father of Al Darda relate about the Prophet of Allah (Allah bless him and give him peace) that he said a woman would belong, in the next world, to the last of her husbands, so do not marry after me.' "

"In another story it is said that Hadhifa bin Al Yamin (Allah be pleased with him) said to his wife, 'If it pleases you that you should be my wife in the Garden, if Allah should gather us in it, then do not marry another man after me, for a woman belongs to the last of her husbands.' "

There are also two traditions given in the chapter which show that some thought that a woman of many husbands could have whichever one she wanted:

"The Imam, Abu Bakr bin Al Araby said, 'A woman had several husbands. Then word reached the Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) that she had her choice among the husbands and whichever one she chose, she was to be with.' "

"The Mother of Habiba said, 'O Prophet of Allah, a woman had two husbands in this world. Then they both died. Then they foregathered in the Garden. To which one of the two would she be, to the first or to the last?' Then he said, 'She shall be for the more kindly of disposition while he was with her in this world.' "

In a previous chapter a tradition is related that a human wife in the Garden will be 70,000 fold better than the houries. The very possibility of that would make a Moslem want the wife or wives he has had in this world. But if the last series of traditions represents what is going to happen, and a woman can choose in heaven any husband she has had on the earth, suppose that some man should not be chosen at all! A Moslem woman, despised by men on the earth, but having her own way in the Garden! That would be irony indeed,—for the men!

Our Moslem authority, however, believes it is a possibility, and he concludes his chapter with a warning to those of his fellow Moslems who want to have their mundane wives in heaven as well. He says:

"So know that (your wives may or may not choose you) O brothers, and improve your habits!"

The excellence of the Christian teaching stands out with the greater clearness when it is compared with the unspiritual and confused answers of the Mohammedan traditions.

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THE MOSLEM'S VIEWPOINT

WE ARE told that "It is farther from Islam to Christianity than it is from Christianity to Islam," which may seem to be a paradox; but is true. It is a much more difficult process for a Moslem to cross the broad and deep gulf that separates the two faiths, than it is for the Christian to do so. The Christian church and Christian missions frequently overlook this. We think of the conversion of a Mohammedan in terms of the reasonableness and desirability of a change of state. We look upon the Moslem's unwillingness to accept the Gospel, and confess his faith in Christ, as unmixed fanaticism or hardness of heart, not realising how sincerely an individual Mohammedan may be searching for the truth and desiring to give true allegiance to God in His own appointed way.

It is to be remembered that Islam, the Moslem's intellectual and religious heritage, is not in the same category as some pagan religions, unprovided with an elaborate literature. Islam is not only provided with a book, a "comprehensive" and "final" rule of faith and practice; but it has a whole arsenal of offensive and defensive weapons against the Jewish and Christian beliefs. It is not only unchristian; it is anti-christian. The Christian world is to the Moslem a world of polytheism, and polytheism is an abomination.

But the Christian church sends its men and its literature, it opens institutions in Moslem lands, and devotes itself to the conversion of the millions of Islam, and invites them to accept the faith of Christ. How does all this appeal to the thinking Moslem?

In the first place, he is invited to give up his ancestral *faith.* All those tender and sacred ties which cluster around the stories of home and religion, are no more precious to us than to him. "Surely, my parents and grandparents have not all been wrong," he reasons. "I

have seen their firm faith, and there must be truth in it. I cannot break away from it. Surely I should be wrong in doing so."

It is also his *saving* faith. Again and again the clear tones of Islam ring in his ears, "Amin billah wa rasoolihi," "Believe in Allah and his prophets," and all will be well,—for every promise of God Almighty of which he has ever heard is for the Moslem alone.

Next, it is an *easy* faith. Its creed, as compared with the Apostles' and the Athanasian Creeds, is simplicity itself. And as for working through the scriptures and formulating a creed for himself, *de novo*, that would surely be a hard thing to expect of him, and a great deal more than the average believer in Christian lands has required of himself.

Lastly, it is a *final* faith. Every condition and impression he has ever received has taught him that it was the last, the very seal of all faith, comprehending and transcending anything that Moses, or Jesus, or any other man, ever gave or ever will give. And yet we ask him to give up that faith.

Again we ask him to give up his *works*. Remember that Moslem works are not inner fruits of the Spirit. They are external means to an end. The stipulated five daily prayers, and the ablutions which accompany them, the motions, the genuflections, attitudes, and positions of formal prayers,—these are not communion with Allah; they are valuable only as avoiding the displeasure and winning the mercy of the Almighty. So are the observances of the Fast of Ramadan, the Pilgrimage to Mecca, the giving of alms. They are meritorious acts purely, and upon their observance he has learned to stake his welfare. But we ask him to abandon such ideas, to reduce the value of such things to *nil*, as far as salvation and his relation to his God are concerned.

Third, we propose that he give up his rights as an individual in a community. We enter what Lord Curzon once said is "not a state church but a church state," and suggest to the Moslem that he place himself in a position of absolute ostracism. We invite him to what means loss

of rights as a citizen (save as Christian government has in some cases partially safeguarded him). We ask him to do what will cost him his business, his trade, profession or employment, and which will spell boycott to him everywhere. We propose his taking a step which will deprive him of his family, wife, children, parents, relations and friends, and make them eager to poison or otherwise destroy him. His change from Islam to Christianity will deprive him of all social standing, and make him lose the respect of everyone, even perhaps his own self-respect; for by his previous concept every virile and noble thing has been found in Islam alone. We even expose him to almost certain conscription to the army, where, being regarded as a renegade, he will suffer the most painful humiliation and probably early death for being a pervert. To put it briefly, a Moslem contemplating conversion would expect to be reduced to the lowest possible terms as an individual.

These are some of the things which we propose to take away from the believer in Islam. He does well if he will even listen to our proposal. Is it not a miracle if he consents to put away these precious heritages and sacred fellowships in faith and works and daily life, and repudiate that which he has always looked upon as the one final and perfect revelation of the Creator, namely the Koran?

But the Christian missionary does not stop with the purely negative factor. It offers to the Moslem a substitute for his Islam. The Christian church says to him, "Believe on the Lord Jesus Christ and thou shalt be saved," and then goes on to explain what is implied, interpreting the Scriptures and the whole problem of life; to the Moslem this involves:

1. A new system of religious faith. It calls for an entirely new structure, historically and doctrinally. The very foundations are undermined. Concepts of man's relations to God are expressed in a new terminology, and new meanings are attached to the most traditional expressions. "As far as east from west is distant," so far is the whole new scheme of faith and life seen from his former religious system. Instead of, as he believes, Islam being

inclusive of the faith of the Old and New Testaments, Christianity is discovered to be exclusive of perhaps ninety-five per cent of the faith of Islam. Even if his confidence in Islam has been shaken by the impact of the knowledge of some things which he has discovered, *e.g.*, of a scientific or historical nature; even if he has come to completely repudiate Islam, the rearing of a structure of a new faith calls for more strength, boldness, and perseverance than he probably has at his disposal. It makes more of a demand upon him than the ordinary Christian has had made upon himself. He reasons, "Well, if my former faith has been proved unsound; if the religion of my ancestors and the whole system in which they have lived and died, which I had to consider divine, has crumbled as I studied it; if all my sacred books and beliefs must be discarded as false, then what reason have I to erect a new structure of faith which I may expect to endure? No, having seen one pass away, I will not construct another."

2. Again, the Christian faith which we offer him often appears as *unreasonable*. The atonement seems to him absurd, for he believes that Allah accepts whom He will, "*Kama yasha.*" The doctrine of the Trinity presents (to him) an impossible equation. The discrimination between the doctrine of Trinity and that of Tritheism is to him abominable sophistry. The inspiration of the Christian Scriptures presents no evidence whatever of being divine. "Who were Mark, or Luke, or Paul," he says, "that you should accept what they say as divinely inspired?" His concept of a "prophet," like Jesus or Mohammed, gives no right to a man like one of these writers to foist upon the world a contribution to a book to be called the "Word of God." No inspiration direct from God by the angel Gabriel ever came that way. "Not only are your Scriptures unreasonable by their very origin," he says, "but they have been so altered that I will not trust them. Do not ask me to accept unreasonable and absurd doctrines."

3. Moreover Christian missions offer him unison with the Christian. That means to him either Oriental churches with their ignorance and idolatry, their puerile

ceremonies and customs, and an ecclesiastical system which indicates anything but a divine origin. He may have seen these at weddings and funerals and had very little acquaintance otherwise with it, and he has come to despise it. Or we offer him something *foreign*, which is as distasteful as anything orientally pagan or Moslem would be to a man or woman in England or America. Enough has crystallised about his ideas of foreigners in things social, political, and otherwise, to make him loathe that which foreign missions offer him, merely because it is a foreign thing. Not infrequently the foreign religion is offered to him at arm's length. There is often a sort of "Take it; it will do you good" tone of voice in its presentation. And whether it is that which the Oriental churches offer or the foreigner, in either case the Moslem finds the religious pabulum unpalatable, and the fellowship with those who differ with him radically uninviting, until he has discovered what the truth of the Gospel is, and is born again of the Spirit.

4. Then we invite him to live the life of Christ. The rigorous ideals of that life appeal to him as too severe. All through his experience of Islam, the prevailing tone in relation to sin has been something like this: "Do not do this or that. If, however, you do, remember that Allah is merciful, and as long as you remain a Moslem, it is not a serious matter what you do." Sin is not a sinful thing to a Moslem, because holiness either in God or in man's great exemplar Mohammed, is not taught. The fruit of the spirit of Islam is not holy; the whole genesis and character of the development of that faith reduced it to the vanishing point. False colours were given to works of righteousness, and it is with these colours that the Moslem sees sin. The very terminology, idioms and vocabulary of Christianity are strange. So, even when he has discovered that his former faith is unsound and his works unprofitable before God, when he has discovered a new and a better way of life, and a system of religious thought, and has become willing to identify himself somewhat with an almost incompatible Oriental or foreign Christian community,—even when he has been

willing to do all that, to be ostracised from every relationship in political and private life, when Christian missions say to him: "Now, having done all that, you must no longer live the Moslem life," when they say that he is to step out of the former into new ways of conduct, is it to be wondered at that he often slips? Is it strange that he is affected by the downward pull of former associates and the environment from which he does not escape even when he is converted?

Whether it means giving up all he would have to give up, or refusing all he would have to refuse, or confessing having done so before men, or living in accordance with that confession, from the standpoint of any ordinary Moslem man or woman, the whole process seems either preposterous or impossible. If missions to Moslems are to be of any convicting, penetrating, or vitalising power, therefore, they must be borne up by the prayers of the people of God. The Moslem can only come across that deep and wide chasm which separates him from the Saviour, when he is born again. Until his eyes are opened that he may see wondrous things in God's law, he cannot be expected to discard his former views, to repudiate his religious heritage, and accept Jesus Christ as his Saviour, Master, and Lord. The Christian church will do well to bear in mind, and that daily, what a tremendous problem it has in the commission to carry the Gospel to the followers of the only really anti-christian faith on earth. Patience, grace, and prayer are needful to our service for the Master in this effort.

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THE MOSLEM AND THE FATHERHOOD OF GOD

A YOUNG woman, who not long before had professed Islam in the Woking Mosque, recently came timidly to a friend there. He asked her what she thought of the Moslem faith now she had joined it? "Oh, I've done with them," she said. "I can't stand them; but I don't suppose I shall ever be taken back into the Christian Church." "Why not?" he asked. "Well," said she, "I don't approve of the Mohammedans, but after this I can't believe in the Trinity."

I have not heard how this poor girl has got on since, but the incident set one thinking. It is a difficulty that often enough occurs in our missionary life, and especially in dealing with Mohammedans. I should incline to say to her: "Don't be thinking at present about the Trinity and readmission into the Church. You have come up against something more important even than that. Do you really want to know God? What is He to you? Do you need a Heavenly Father? Yes, you do. Well, remember, for one thing that this faith of Islam, which they tell you gives such a clear and simple idea of God, has no room for a God Who is your Father. The Koran says that if He is a father, He must have a wife: "How, when He hath no consort, should He have a son?" (VI, 101). Mohammed had no idea of the meaning of a Heavenly Father. What do we mean by the word? Your life and all that you have is from Him; you owe Him loyalty: only He can forgive your sin and save you from it; and because He is Love He has done this; you owe Him love: a child is like its father and grows more and more so: God made you in His image and will teach and help you to become like Him if you sincerely ask Him. You owe Him likeness. Now study your Bible and see how God has actually done all this. Then turn to your Church Catechism, and see what is meant by the Christian faith:

"I believe in God the Father, Who hath made me and all the world. Secondly in God the Son, Who hath redeemed me and all mankind. Thirdly in God the Holy Ghost, Who sanctifieth me and all the elect people of God." This is what God actually has done and is doing for you and me; and that because He is our Father. In accepting God as your Father you have implicitly accepted the doctrine of the Holy Trinity; for it is a doctrine or teaching which tells about a great fact, and in that fact of God as Love all our life is bound up, both for body and soul. When you have thought that out you will come to 'the holy Catholic Church' and all that its fellowship opens up to you."

When the missionary is brought up against the difficulty which the convinced Moslem believer in the Unity inevitably feels on being confronted with a truth which Mohammed first distorted and then denied, his line of teaching will not, I believe, be very different from this. He will remember that the Christian Church prays for grace "in the power of the Divine Majesty to worship the Unity" no less than "to acknowledge the glory of the eternal Trinity." He will recognise a real dignity in the Koranic proclamation of the Unity: "Say, He is God alone, God the Eternal." To its author, God was He with Whom we have to do, the One Thing that matters. The missionary therefore would do nothing to make the Moslem inquirer lose the overpowering sense of the all-compelling greatness of the One God, and he will join him in the ejaculations of praise that he couples with the name of Allah:—*'azza wa jallahu*,—(honour and glory be His) and the like, for assuredly the bald and curt phrases in which we speak of God and His prophets tend to make the average Moslem feel that we have but little reverence for either. But for all that the missionary will point out how we miss in the Koranic verses the ancient Mosaic addition to the proclamation of the Unity: "Thou shalt love Jehovah thy God with all thy heart"; and how that already pointed to the perfect revelation of Him who claims our highest love as Himself supreme Love. In the last resort it is not the arithmetical oneness

of the Deity that supremely matters, but the character of the One who in Himself sums up all goodness and beauty. Monotheism may, as Dr. Percy Dearmer has remarked, develop into "Cacotheism." If the character of the One be deteriorated, His worship may bear bitter fruits, and that is exactly what has happened in Islam. Polytheism inevitably degrades the conception of the godhead, but monotheism does not inevitably preserve its purity.

But if we want to follow up this truth in dealing practically with the Moslem, we must, in ninety-nine cases out of one hundred, sedulously avoid the line of metaphysical argument. Our interlocutor will invariably try to draw us on to the line of deduction from certain theological premises, which he will use in syllogisms after the manner of the scholastic logic, the only philosophy with which his divines are familiar. "That which is infinite cannot be limited: God is infinite; therefore He cannot be limited by entering into a human body"; my missionary readers know the kind of thing. If our friend is given to chopping logic, we remind him that we cannot find out the Infinite by *istikhrāj* (deduction); we can only learn what He has been pleased to reveal of Himself through the use of *istiqrā* (induction). We are not to begin by saying what God must do or be according to our ideas, but we must inquire what He has said and done to reveal Himself to us. In other words we must keep to the line of historical inquiry. Once on the ground of the Scriptures we can go straight forward, and, so far as my experience goes, the intelligent Moslem reader is deeply attracted and interested by the line of Messianic revelation in the Old Testament, leading up to the Christ, though one cannot spare him the shock when he realises that the result is, not Mohammed *and* Christ, but, Mohammed *or* Christ.

The Moslem has the notion that each prophet brought a fresh revelation and pronounced accordingly a fresh kalima, and the kalima of Jesus, on whom be peace, they say was: "There is no God but Allah, Jesus is the Spirit of Allah." It is a strange, defocussed reflection of the

doctrine of the Trinity, and might have been made up out of scraps from the New Testament: "There is one God"—"the Lord is the Spirit." But when one asks the average Moslem what this means, he is at a loss for an answer, and may ask you to explain it. In that case, however, I should not use it as an implicit statement of the Triune Nature, but rather say: "Let me tell you what the kalima of the Lord Jesus was: 'there is no God save Allah, and He is your Father.'" I have never found this, when coupled with a hint that the word "father" is used in a spiritual sense, act as a repellent. As for our friends the Neomoslems, they have simply appropriated the title, and one of their number, in some rhymes put forth as a hymn, calls Mohammed the son of God, adding in a small print footnote that this is not intended in the Christian sense. This, too, is one of the many tokens that the heart of man responds to the revelation of the Father which was brought by the Son and is witnessed by the Spirit.

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ISLAM IN CHINA TO-DAY

THE influence of modern times and also of some of the Christian literature is being felt and is bringing about a change and new activity especially in Peking. The leaders of the Mohammedans in Peking are now awaking up to the need of progress and change.

They have started an Educational Bureau and a Progressive Society. They are publishing new books and discussing the questions between Christianity and the Moslem faith. They now publish a magazine in Arabic and Chinese.

The spirit of conservatism is changing and they are beginning to feel that they must investigate. Their sacred book, the Koran (Chinese "Heavenly Classic"), has been more than a thousand years in China, and has been intoned by their priests in Arabic in all parts of the land, but never would they translate their sacred book into common Chinese. Now, however, they are planning to translate the Koran, and have already, last month, translated and published the second chapter into Chinese. I took breakfast with some of the leaders recently. They said that they wished to come into more friendly touch with others. They read some tracts, just prepared about the Bible, with much interest. One said: "Foreigners have translated the Koran, into English, German, French, etc. Must we say there are no Chinese to do it? It must be done." It will be a task, and will be an interesting work.

One great aim is to lead them now to study the Law and the Gospel, "confirmed" by their prophet. Since some terms used in our Chinese Bible are very offensive or not clear to them, the bible societies might well put out a special edition of the Gospels for the Chinese Moslems, using some of the words, equally good, that they

understand so well. To-day is a time of great opportunity to bring to them the Gospel of Salvation.

A part of the Moslem program for China is, the developing of education and industry among their people; progress and reform; translation; publication and expounding of their doctrines; and within strengthening the faith, while without they seek to oppose "the destructive books of the times" (Christian literature). They are now planning for meetings, lectures, explaining their ceremonies and doctrines, explaining the Koran, as well as the history and commentaries of their faith. They are also taking up the question of health and sanitation. They have sent out notices calling for written contributions from all who can write and inviting questions and general discussion. This general program of the new movement was issued in January 1916, and since then they have published several books and papers and apologetics taking up and arguing against some of the criticisms made by Christians. Some of their present-day writings are very interesting reading. They are adopting Christian methods to strengthen Islam faith. It reminds one of the forward movement a few years ago, among the Buddhists of Japan, when they began to adopt our methods of preaching, Sunday schools, and young men's associations.

This is a social and intellectual movement in Chinese Islam, based on the idea of social reform and modern progress. The central office of this forward movement is at the chief Mosque in Peking in the southern part of the city. The chief Ahung there, who speaks Arabic fairly well, and who has been to Mecca, has been very friendly to me. He told me a few days ago, in speaking of reform work, that he had some two years ago attended our reform meeting, and had taken home our printed outline and program. He said: "That work is quite in line with Islam." They say they are deeply interested in opium prohibition and temperance work, although in the west many Mohammedans trade in opium. The social service idea is one point of contact to reach their hearts; the worship of one true God, Lord of Heaven and Earth,

is another point of union. If by friendly intercourse we may lead them to study the Gospel, the "Yin-Chi-loh" or Evangel, which their own prophet recommended, they may come to understand the will of their "True Lord" and the way of salvation through Jesus the Saviour, the "Er-Sa" (Arabic "Isa") of their own book. It is interesting to note that this word for "Saviour" is found in the prophet's name Isaiah, "Salvation of Jehovah" (Isa. or Ya-sa, Heb. Yah ya-sha). It means "to be spacious," therefore "to set free," "to aid," "to succour," "to help," "to save." By changing the vowels it came to be "Ye-Sou" in Greek.

A young Chinese Arabic scholar has been studying with me the Koran and the Gospel of John. He has studied Arabic for eight years, has been to Turkey, Egypt, and Mecca, and seems earnest and really anxious for God's truth. He believes the Koran to be the truth from God. Our aim has been to lead him to study the Bible, and he now believes that he ought to do so from the teaching of the Koran. "Loyalty to Mohammed" has led to this advance step. He said: "Mohammed never spoke anything but good of the Bible, the 'Book of God', and the Gospel. I *must* believe the Gospel and the words of Jesus, but how can I believe that Jesus was the Son of God? The Koran says not." I replied, "It is so claimed by Christians and by Mohammedans, but is this true? Translations are not always exact, and might be read quite differently. The Koran chapter 4:169, has been made to read—'Jesus, Son of Mary, is *only an* Apostle of God. . . . Far be it from His glory that He should have a *Son!*' The words '*only an*' might more correctly be read '*Verily that,*' and '*Son*' should read '*Child,*' which means the *natural born.* God has no *child* in that sense, for the flesh is not of the Spirit, John 3:6. Some of the Romanists at that time were making Mary as the 'Wife of God,' and as the 'Mother of God'—a gross error. We must not go beyond the Word. There are not Three 'Gods,' but Only One. He has not a Child, but an eternal Son. From a literal interpretation of this text of the Koran, it is *not necessary* to claim (as so many do) that

here is denial of the Trinity. It denies an early error, but not the Eternal Sonship of Jesus.

"The Koran which in such plain language, and so repeatedly confirms the Gospel, and claims to 'safeguard the Scriptures' (Chap. 5:51, 52), should be explained in the *light of the Gospel* where possible. Mohammed said: 'Ye have no ground to stand on, until ye observe the Law, and the Gospel' (5:92). *Mohammedanism* is often wrong, where the Koran is right. There is need to-day of more 'Loyalty to Mohammed,' which means loyalty to Jesus The Christ, and His Gospel." The young Ahung was ready to admit this, but he said: "Does not the Koran call the Jews infidels, for calling Ezra a Son of God; and also the Christians the same, for calling the Messiah a Son of God? (9:30)" I said: "This is generally considered to be the meaning of the passage, but it is *not* a *necessary* interpretation." He then read it over carefully and said: "Yes, it can mean two things. 'They resemble infidels' may refer to both Jews and Christians, if you consider them both wrong in their statements; but if it is understood that 'the Jews' and their error, is placed in contrast with the truth of the Christians, then the 'They' may refer to *only the Jews*, and there is no attack here on the Christian doctrine. Arabic grammar will permit of either interpretation." I asked him then, which interpretation we should follow if both could be used? He said: "I don't know, our religion teaches that Jesus is only a Prophet and not the Son of God." I replied: "That is man's idea, the Koran does not make that denial. Is there no way to find out the right interpretation?" He asked: "What is the way to find it out?" I replied: "Mohammed has told the way. In Chap. 5:50-52, he says that God has given 'the Gospel (Evangel) *with its guidance and light*,' and we must 'judge according to what God has sent down therein.'

"Mohammed does not speak much of many vital doctrines, because his mission was especially against idolatry, and 'to confirm the previous Scriptures.' We must always go to them. When in doubt, we should take the interpretation that agrees with the Gospel. So

it *must* mean that the Jews were wrong, and the truth of the Christians was put in contrast, to prove their error. An Arabic statement, written with the *exact* form, if concerning two well-known facts in contrast, would be clearly understood, and the 'They' would then plainly refer only to these in error. Mohammed understood more of the Gospel than his followers to-day. Shall we not go back to the true doctrine, and to a more correct interpretation of the Koran?" The young Ahung agreed to this.

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NOTES ON CURRENT TOPICS

The Young Turks through Cairo's Spectacles

WHETHER the following article, which recently appeared in *al-Mokattam* under the title "The Atrocities of the Turkish Government and its Unlawful Conduct in this War," was written by a Sheikh of al-Azhar or was inspired by Government officials does not change its severe arraignment of the Young Turks, and shows conclusively that there is no love lost at present between the leaders of thought in Cairo and the war lords of Constantinople. We take our translation from that which appeared in the *Near East:*

"It seems to be generally believed by the majority of people, Moslems, Christians, and Jews, that the Turkish Government is a Moslem Government. It is, however, our bounden duty, according to the *Sheriat,* to expose this error and destroy this belief.

"Islam rests on five fundamental conditions and rules, without which it cannot stand, and which are elementary knowledge to those who are at all conversant with the books of Moslem law. Now, the persons holding the reins of the present Turkish Government possess few or none of these essential qualifications, and certainly not the first, which indeed underlies the other conditions and constitutes the vital constituent thereof, viz., belief in Allah and His Angels and His Holy Books and Prophets. We, the Believers, find them [the present Turkish Government] devoid of Faith. For have they not openly declared in their books, and confirmed it by word and deed, that Islam has been harmful to them, and the cause of their retrogression; that (supreme blasphemy) it has been a great calamity to them? It is notorious that their governors in Yemen and Syria neither pray nor fast, nor perform the sacred duties of pilgrimage and almsgiving; but rather drink wine in the day and during the holy month of Ramadan. All this is directly contrary to Islam, by the unanimous judgment of the nation and by the Book and the *Sunna.* They have no notion of the great precepts enjoined by the *Sheriat,* such as the ordering of good and the forbidding of evil, and the maintenance of justice. In short, they ignore the fundamental principles of Islam, both religious and moral, lacking the veneration due to the exalted position of the Prophet and his *Suhaba.* Have we not heard with our own ears, and read with our own eyes, how they, in 1330 [A.H.] delegated to Medina their philosopher and great writer, known as the Akshoura, who on his return started preaching to the people in Syria, saying that the existence of the Prophet and of his Tomb in Medina is a fiction, that there is no proof of the existence of that God whom they worship, and that the Arabs are a people ruled by empty dreams and superstitions, and such like preachings, calculated to mislead and poison the minds of the young? Some of them have gone so far as to recommend the effacing of the names of the first four Khalifs, Abu Bekr, Omar, Othman, and Ali, from the pillars of their mosques, and the replacing thereof by great Turkish names for the perpetuation of their memory, as representatives of a young and

vigorous race that has come to supersede the effete Arab race. Thus do they cast derision on the four great Khalifs who consolidated the foundations of our faith and work, and upheld Allah and His Prophet, by offering all their possessions and their very selves for that noble cause.

"Furthermore, their disdain of the Arabic tongue, and their systematic efforts for the suppression thereof in their books and schools and official correspondence, all this is a patent act of hostility. Besides, Islam without the Arabic tongue is an unthinkable proposition.

"As to their acts in connection with this war, they are again directly contrary to the *Sheriat*, and essentially anti-Moslem. Witness the fact of their throwing themselves and the country into the arms of Germany without consulting the leading heads of the Moslem world, such as the Shereef of Mecca and other notable chieftains and Ulemia, and their audacious attempt at consecrating such an act by the pretended application thereto of the *Sheriat*. What rules of the *Sheriat* can they invoke to justify their despotic actions in regard to Moslem families whom they dispossessed of all their belongings and whose men they enrolled by force for the attainment of the aims of Germany, who proved to be the enemy of Islam and the Moslems by their declarations and deeds, as has been officially confirmed and clearly seen by us of late? Indeed, far from Germany being the defender of Islam, it has been the cause of its misfortunes.

"Among their most unlawful acts is their expulsion of Moslem women. The Moslem law ordains the punishment of women, when convicted of an unlawful act, at the place where it is committed, thus differentiating between the case of man and woman, even where the offence committed is the same. But when, as in the present case, the women are innocent and yet treated thus, the persons committing this act against them are deserving not only of contempt, but also of curses. These Moslem women had interfered in no way in this war or in politics in general; and no real Moslem can refrain from condemning the Turks in the strongest terms for their mean and unlawful conduct towards them, or from expressing his wonder at their impiety reaching such a degree of disregard for the Sacred Law.

"We have just learned, through their papers, that their commander-in-chief in Syria has expelled hundreds of families from Syria to the interior of Turkey for acts for which the women are in no way responsible, and which are supposed to have been committed by their husbands or sons. Such an act is foreign to Islam and true Moslems, and the original author of it can only be Germany. Moslems cannot admit of a Moslem government being under the direction of such a Power as Germany, as this is clearly contrary to law."

The End of Turkey

A discriminating article on the future of Turkey appeared in *The Outlook*, New York, by Hester Donaldson Jenkins. It discusses the significance of the fall of an empire once so great, and sketches the steps that led to the present situation. We quote the opening and closing paragraphs of the article:

"The rise and fall of a great empire is an awesome thing. When one can view it as a whole in a great book like Gibbon's, one can obtain a sense of its epic grandeur; but, as we live a year at a time, it is harder to view it largely.

"We are looking now upon the fall of a mighty empire. It has shrunk and decayed within our time until many of us view it with contempt, and wish that the Sick Man would hasten his slow demise; yet the tragedy is none the less for our impatient view of it. . . . No one who has lived in Turkey and has seen the hopeful revolution of 1908 can fail to be saddened by the sight of so great a fall. The greatest Turkish poet, Tewfik Fikret Bey, scored the Hamidian Government in a poem called 'Mists of Constantinople.' He hoped great things from the revolution, but was bitterly disappointed, and last winter, his great heart broken by Turkey's tears and sorrows, he died. His poem ends with words that might be said over the grave of the Ottoman Empire:

"Arena of horrors, yet majesty's stage;
O glorious setting for tragedy's rage!
Thou of greatness and pomp at once cradle and grave;
Queen eternally luring, the Orient thy slave.
Oh, within the deep Marmora's azure embrace
As one dead sleepest thou; whilst her waves thee enlace.
O laws but tradition, O tyranny 'neath
Whose oppression no safety nor right but to breathe!
Thou debauched of the ages, sleep on till mists fall,
Veil thyself, O thou Tragedy, O City, veil!"

A Question of Method

In the interesting quarterly paper published by the *Union pour l'Evangélisation des Musulmans*, Emile Brès, Secrétaire, we were glad to read not only of the encouraging results of the work of the French Church in North Africa, but of the spirit in which it is carried on.

"Missionaries ought to become Oriental as far as that is legitimate, in order to fully win the Easterners to Christ. It is with that end in view that we have taken for our device the cross within the crescent: Christ, the Saviour of the Orientals.

"The Moslem is essentially a collectivist and we must know how in our missionary labors to adopt for the time being this collective spirit. An example of this was furnished by the early monastary of monks who labored to evangelize the barbarians of Europe. We find another example of it in the institutional churches of England which were compelled to respond at the time to the religious and social needs of those who were brought in.

"Rather than multiply small stations, it seems preferable to establish an influential *zaouia* or 'holy house,' as our converts call it, where each will find his needs satisfied: where the oppressed will find asylum; the traveler a shelter; the sick relief; the orphan and widow protectors; the persecuted Christian and the one deprived of resources and the means of livelihood, employment; the young religious and technical instruction; the colporteur-evangelists of the future a meeting place at the cross-roads, where the light of Christ will light each countenance.

"The obstacle in the way to the conversion of the Moslems is not solely within themselves, it lies also in us: it is our stubbornness of heart and lack of sympathy. If the monk Nestorius of Bosra had been filled with the Holy Spirit, the young camel driver Mohammed who consulted him might perhaps have become the Christian apostle to Arabia; if Peter the Hermit had not flaunted the cross, sacrilegious as it was to the Mohammedan, the *marabouts* (Moslem missionaries)

would not have found the Berber population so ready to accept their dominion and despise the remnant of the ancient Church of Africa.

"We, the crusaders of the Spirit, must learn to give ourselves in tutelage to those whom we wish to take under our wing. Then will they begin to repent in their turn, and they, perhaps, will as missionaries with love and tears travel the road from the Sudan, over which, before the French occupation they journeyed in order to sieze the negroes and reduce them to slavery."

Present-day Thought in India

The Church Missionary Review speaks of a movement from Mohammed toward Christ among the sixty million Mohammedans of India:

"The present spiritual attitude of Mohammedans is distinctly cheering. There is a movement from Mohammed and a movement towards Christ, and nowhere is this more evident than among the sixty millions of Mohammedans in India. A friend in India recently wrote:—

" 'Mohammedans are interesting to me and I am struck with two things on their part:—

" '(1) The colour washing of Mohammed with ideas from the Bible of what a prophet should be like. He is now pictured as humble, kind, pure, etc. His numerous marriages are explained as arising from his kindness in providing the protection of his name to the aged widows of comrades who fell in the wars. N.B.—His favourite wife was a young girl, daughter of a comrade who survived him.

" '(2) They are dropping (or many of them are) the name Mohammedan altogether, and taking Mussulman in its place. Some of them take it in its true spiritual sense. One writes to me, "My creed is this: I believe in God as my Father and in His unchanging love for me, and so I call myself a Mussulman, *i.e.*, one who is at peace with, and is submissive to God." The same told his fellow-students that "No one can be a Mussulman unless he is first a Christian." '

"Mohammedans now have higher ideals than the prophet himself. The new Islam also feels compelled to re-interpret part of the Koran. It is at pains to prove that the Mohammedan faith was never propagated by the sword, that slavery was only a temporary institution, and that Mohammed never permitted polygamy. Higher criticism of this character will not long hold the field. When to this is added that we find side by side a growing attraction to the character of Christ and an increased hostility to Him—the almost inevitable signs of a true unveiling of Christ—we may well thank God and take courage. If Christians were alive to this opportunity no sacrifice would be spared to lay hold of it."

"Except a Man Hate His Mother"

These words of Christ come home with stern reality wherever Moslems are bold, confess Christ and forsake all for Him. From Jhelum in the northern Punjab comes the story of a mother and her son, after the son had been baptised Sabir Masih and the missionary worker visited the mother in her home:

"His mother is a little past middle age, tall, and fine looking. Our sudden appearance took her by surprise, but she hesitated for only a moment; then came forward and gave us a friendly greeting. She asked after our welfare and we after hers. Her agitation showed

what she was really trying to hide; so we told her that her son was well; that he loved her; often spoke of her, and was one in whom she should take pleasure rather than regard bitterly. She wept at the mention of his name. She was hungry to hear about him, but her only word was of bitter denunciation. She said she could not forgive him for becoming a Christian, though, later, she severely rebuked some neighbours who spoke insultingly of us, saying, 'Hush, they are his sisters.' We tried to tell her of the faith in which her son had come to trust, and how both he and we longed that she, too, might believe on the Lord Jesus, but she put our words coldly from her. As we passed along the narrow street, I thought of the bright faced boy of whom his mother was so proud and of the hopes that centered in him. Religiously inclined even from childhood, he received his elementary education in the Mosque, with the Koran as text-book. Then the missionary camp came and he heard a message that was to change his life even on into eternity. In his village he was bitterly persecuted and would certainly have been killed had he remained. He is now a student in our Theological Seminary. When I told him of our visit to his mother, the quick look of pain and tear-filled eyes showed how much the separation meant to him. You, in the home-land, to whom religion means a close bond of union rather than separation, will you not take this mother into your prayer fellowship, daily, constantly, till a message from this land tells you that she has found the Saviour her son loves?"

A Call from the Kashgais

In *The Church Missionary Review* for October, there was an interesting account of a call received by Dr. Carr of the C. M. S. at Shiraz to visit the tribe of the Kashgais:

"This was how it came. Last year Dr. Carr was coming up to Ispahan, having just returned from furlough. While in Shiraz, a messenger from Soulat ud Douleh, chief of all the Kashgais, arrived with a letter for Dr. Carr. The chief needed a small operation, and there were many sick people in the tribe needing treatment, many too who wanted to give up the use of opium, etc.; would the doctor go with the messenger and spend a few weeks among the tribes-people? Circumstances made it impossible for him to go just then; he had no instruments and no medicines, and also he was taking up his additional burden of the acting secretaryship of the Mission, which made it necessary for him to push on as quickly as possible to Ispahan. So he reluctantly had to refuse, but he sent a message that if the chief still wanted him when the tribe had reached their summer quarters he would either go himself or send another doctor. . . . Some months passed by, and nothing more was heard from the chief of the Kashgais. Then one morning, early in August, a few men and women arrived in the hospital at Ispahan. Their speech showed that they were not pure Persians. The women did not cover up their faces as the townswomen do. The men wore massive 'cummerbunds' and low hats of a peculiar shape which marked them out as Kashgais. They were a splendid lot of fellows, with their fine easy swing and their commanding presence. Two of them were chiefs under the Soulat, one was the Soulat's chief steward. After a few days a letter came from the chief asking for Dr. Carr to go up to the tribe, and offering to provide mules, tents, etc., for him and his assistants, and generous payment for all the medical work. In

spite of the great pressure of secretarial work and summer work in the hospital, it was considered, and surely rightly so, that it was in very deed the call of God to preach Christ to the Kashgais. . . ."

In due course Dr. Carr and Mr. Linton reached the chief's summer quarters at Nokhudan, and day by day, all day long, from morning till night, the people came.

"The overwhelming majority of them listened for the first time to the Gospel story. It was a joy to see the desire of a number of educated men among them to read the Gospel and have it explained. Sometimes when we were so tired with talking that we stopped, they said, 'Please do not stop, we want more.' One or two came to the tent day after day for more regular teaching.

"We took up a stock of Bibles and portions sufficient to last, as we thought, for the whole time. They were all sold out on the fourth day! Among the more regular 'inquirers' were a few who promised to come to Ispahan next summer for treatment and for instruction.

"One day when we were visiting the chief, he asked me to examine his son in English. I gave him the story of Christ blessing the children to read and translate for his father. The chief was much struck with it, and asked what the book was. When we had gone back to our tent he called his chief steward and asked what I was doing there. He knew what the doctor was doing, but what was the other sahib doing? His steward said I was 'preaching the Gospel, and giving the people good advice.' He sent for his sons' tutor and ordered him to get a copy of the Bible in English and Persian and use it in the school in future. Something in that sweet little story had found an answer in the heart of the chief of all the Kashgais; he wanted his children to read of Him Who 'took a little child unto Himself.'

"The Kashgais claim to be able to trace their descent back to the Moghuls of Delhi, but they only separated out as a tribe seven generations ago. They were then in Turkish Arabia, and their language still is not Persian, but a sort of Turkish. Many of the women do not understand Persian, and they are not encouraged to learn it.

"The chief told us that there were 30,000 registered tents in the tribe, and that every year a number of Arabs join the tribe for the sake of the protection they get. They estimate six or seven people to each tent, which is probably well under the average.

"The whole tribe is divided up into sections and sub-sections, under chiefs and lesser chiefs until it comes down to the head of the family. The Soulat ud Douleh is absolute ruler. He is a young man only 35 years of age. He keeps himself well posted up in all the news of the day, and talks intelligently on a variety of topics in a way one would never expect in a man who has only once been in a large town. He is a subscriber to the *Times*, and gets Reuter's telegrams sent on to him which are all translated for him by his sons' tutor. . . .

"During our stay at Nokhudan, several of the junior chiefs sounded us as to the possibility of our starting permanent work among them, both medical and educational work. A few days before we left the chief himself raised the question. He asked for a Christian Armenian hospital assistant in the first instance, and when the war is over he would like an English doctor and school teacher. He said over and over again that *whomever we sent, he must be one of ourselves.* He definitely asks for a Christian.

"What is the significance of a call like this? Consider it as a question of mission policy. We occupy three towns in Persia with a com-

bined population of about 200,000, that is to say, with a population equal to that of the Kashgai tribe. In these three towns we have a mission staff of forty-nine men and forty-two women (Persian and Armenian), and thirteen men and nineteen women missionaries (European; not counting wives, many of whom do much valuable work). We are asked to send at present one Armenian assistant, and later, one English doctor and one educational worker to preach the Gospel to the 200,000 Kashgais. . . ."

The Name of Jesus

The following touching story is told by Mrs. J. Gordon Logan of the Egypt General Mission:

"One summer evening near the Pyramid of Cheops, I was joined by a little Arab boy. He was a typical son of the desert in his white cap and robe, his form erect and graceful, his brown face lit up by intelligent dark eyes. We chatted freely of many things, and then I began to tell him the wonderful story of our blessed Lord. I described a mighty Prince, who had been all-powerful in glory, but who loved mankind, and pitying his fallen estate, had come to toil and suffer and die for men. I told how the grave could not hold Him, but that He had risen triumphant over death and had ascended to Heaven, and is alive now for evermore to love us, to succour us, and to save to the uttermost.

"It was very still in the vast desert as I finished my story, not a soul was in sight, darkness was coming on quickly, but the glory of a fleeting after-glow lit up the earnest face lifted to mine, and my little Arab asked a question which seems to ring in my ears even yet. 'O lady,' he said, 'what is His Name?' I had purposely told the story without mentioning the sweet name Yasu'a, Jesus, and this child had never heard it. One 'Iesa, the son of Mary, he did know about, but Jesus, the Son of God, and the Saviour of men, was utterly unknown to him.

"The powers of darkness behind the founder of Islam were far too clever to leave the name 'Jesus' to the Moslems. There is power in that name Jesus, Saviour, and so to-day the little boys and girls of Egypt have never heard it. Now, as I face another period of work at home, there is a great burden on my heart for the unoccupied towns and villages of that land. Do you know that there are 12,000 towns and villages in the Delta alone without a missionary, and can you not hear the cry of the little children in all these places, the cry of their deep need, 'O, lady, what is His Name, what is His Name?' It may be, who can tell, that they must die in the darkness of ignorance, these little ones, unless someone here arises to go to them, carrying with him the precious Name of Jesus."

The Passing of the Tarbush

Nothing has been so characteristic of the Ottoman Empire to the superficial observer as the fashion of the tarbush. In recent years in India one might pick out the pro-Turkish party by their head-dress and our readers will remember how the fashion of the tarbush and its color changed when the Young Turks deposed Abd ul Hamid. Of all styles of head-dress the red tarbush seems least adapted to those who would protect themselves from the sun in the heat belt, and yet it is the last article of dress the effendi in Egypt will lay aside when in all other respects he appears outwardly a European.

According to *al-Mokattam:*

"The origin of the word 'tarbush' is 'sirbush,' a Persian word composed of 'sir' or head, and 'bush,' or 'bushda,' cover. The word therefore means head-cover, and it leads us to the conclusion that the ancient Persians covered their heads with something similar to the tarbush to-day worn. When the Turks captured Constantinople and saw the Greeks wearing long 'tarbushes,' such as are still used in Crete and some parts of Greece, they took to wearing the tarbush, but its form has changed with time.

"Some say that the 'tarbush' is an emblem of the Turkish nationality, and extremists hold that orientals, who have adopted the hat as their head-dress, have become Europeans and therefore disapprove of the change."

The real reason, however, for the shape of the tarbush is that Mŏslem prayer is only possible according to tradition when the head is covered and when the forehead can touch the ground without disarranging the covering of the head. One can easily see how every form of hat or cap does not lend itself to the prayer ritual while the tarbush and the turban do.

Erasmus on Fighting the Turks

Three hundred years ago Erasmus, in his introduction to "Enchiridion Militis Christiani," delivered a message on military methods which might be quoted as a newspaper dispatch from a missionary in Turkey to-day. He speaks of the true verity of Christ in view of the war against the Turks:

"The best way and most effectual to overcome and win the Turks should be if they shall perceive that thing which Christ taught and exprest in His life to shine in us. For, truly, it is not meet nor convenient to declare ourselves Christian men by this proof or token, if we kill very many, but rather if we save very many; nor if we send thousands of heathen people to hell, but if we make many infidels faithful. Altho the chance of war . . . should fall so luckily to us that we had gotten the victory so should it be brought to pass that the Pope's dominions and his cardinals might be enlarged, but not the kingdom of Christ, which finally flourisheth and is in prosperity if faith, love, peace and chastity be quick and strong. . . . In my mind it were the best, before we should try with them in battle, to attempt them with epistles and some little books."

Polyglot Karachi

This great port of Western India, the *C.E.Z.M. Magazine* tells us, "has an educational problem all its own; it is a large school centre, but there is such a variety of languages spoken in and around the city that it is exceedingly difficult to provide teachers with sufficient language qualification. The polyglot and polyracial nature of the population is reflected in the varied classification of the girls. There are classes of Hindu Sindhis, Hindu Gujeratis, Hindu Marathis, Beni-Israelites, Mekrani Mohammedans, and children of the depressed classes, and the standard of teaching ranges from beginners in the primary schools to teachers who have successfully passed through the 'Training College.' The work of the C.E.Z.M.S. is very important, as it maintains nine schools, with about 930 girls, so that of the total number of girls at school in Karachi the proportion is nearly half. At a recent prize-giving the children recited, drilled and

played with great intelligence and spirit, and visitors were much impressed. All this means that *educational workers are very greatly needed*, and it is exceedingly difficult to get efficient Christian teachers for the primary schools."

The American Mission Girls' College at Cairo

In the last report concerning this institution we read that: "The college might well be called the melting pot, for into it we pour Persian, Egyptian, Turkish, English, French, Greek, Russian, Spanish, Rumanian, Bulgarian, Armenian, Syrian, Italian, Swiss, Arabian nationalities and Jewish, Mohammedan, Coptic, Protestant, Greek Catholic, Roman Catholic, Maronite, Bahaist religions with all their various branches and divisions, and from all this mixture we turn out, or we always hope to turn out the happy, healthy, Christian college girl. All these nationalities and religions meet together in one room for prayer and to listen to the simple sweet gospel story.

"The aim of the school in keeping the unity of the family unbroken has been realised this year when, in spite of the war, Turkish, Mohammedan and Egyptian Christian girls have kept their strong friendships for each other.

"Some of the girls have declared themselves on the Lord's side and three united with the church; but what shall we say of those who have not been able to openly profess their faith in Christ as their Saviour? One of the older Mohammedan girls who is now in the senior class had a severe cold and went home for two days. As she was leaving to go to her home I noticed the books she was taking with her for her use and study while she would be recovering from her cold. She had a pretty copy of 'The Daily Light,' a copy of 'Abide in Christ'—her New Testament, and a copy of 'Genesis to Ruth,' and her 'Moral Philosophy.' How many Christian school girls in the home-land would have been careful to take all these spiritual helps with her when she went home for a day or two from college?

"The girls of the college have given liberally toward the relief of the Armenian refugees, and besides their gifts of clothing for the orphans they gave $50.00 as their Christmas gift to the Orphanage."

Progress in Morocco

According to the *North Africa Mission* report for the past year:

"Morocco is still in a condition of transition, as it has been for several years. Tangier is to be an international port, from which a railway is to run to Fez and elsewhere. South and east of the city lies the Spanish sphere of influence, and south of that, the bulk of the country is under French protection. The Sultan is still nominally ruler, though practically he is only a figure-head. After a period of stagnation, extending over more than a thousand years, there are signs of movement all around. Hundreds of miles of railway are proposed and thousands of miles of roads, and notwithstanding the European war, the French Government has just sanctioned a loan of about £10,000,000 to carry these improvements into effect. It is very difficult to see exactly how things will frame themselves, as the war in Europe overshadows everything, but the French are already making fresh roads and railways, in which work they are making use of German prisoners. The French Resident General is an able, liberal-

minded and enterprising man, and it would appear probable that rapid and wise development will proceed. This makes it the more incumbent that the servants of God should not be behind."

Busrah under the British

A correspondent of the Bombay *Times* thus describes new conditions in Sinbad's Busrah (Busra):

"It is a new experience for the Arab purveyor of entertainment to find officials who are prepared to pay for their seats. Busra was never so rich; money is pouring in; trade is brisk, prices are high. The Arab merchants say that they have done more business since the British occupation than in twenty years under Turkish rule, and that the system of payment on delivery is like a dream of the Golden Age come true. Three banks have opened. Wages have doubled or trebled. Where a coolie earned one anna he now earns eight; a bellumchi (boatman) receives ten rupees per week for work which used to bring him in one; a sweeper demands 25 rupees a month; there is a famine in cooks, and it is hard to persuade a small Arab boy to pull a punkah for a rupee between breakfast time and lunch. Bazaar prices are governed by scale, but they are high, the price of eggs has risen from five a penny to a penny each."

A Mecca Newspaper—"The Kibla"

A portion of the Egyptian press gave enthusiastic welcome to this new journal of the Sherif's Government in these terms:

"The Moslems' guiding lamp is this newspaper which has just made its appearance in the Hedjaz, throwing its light on the whole Moslem world—this purest of Moslem papers in all countries, the echo of Islam, the mouthpiece of our Mowla the illustrious Emir invested with the apostolic honour, our great Imam, His Majesty the Grand Sherif, the hero of the Arabs. This journal, which is better than a thousand papers, has come to existence bearing the good news of the restoration by His Majesty the occupant of the apostolic Emirship, of the rights of Arabs and of Islam in general from the hands of their usurpers and aggressors who have begun to see the thorny consequences of their sins and offences. . . . The 'Kiblah' has come to verify the earnest desire which I have been for years preaching. . . . Salaam Ala'l Kiblah and a thousand Salaams! Salamun on the noblest servant of Islam! Salaam on the Korashi and Hashimi Arab journal the guide of the Moslem community."

The Koran in Yoruba

For the sake of the completeness of a record of Koran translations to which reference has been made once and again in our QUARTERLY we are glad to call attention to a translation hitherto omitted, viz., that, in Yoruba begun in 1902 at the suggestion of members of the Holy Trinity Church, Lagos, by the Rev. M. S. Cole, B.A. It was published at Lagos in 1906 although printed by Samuel E. Richards, Nottingham. The translation is in Roman colloquial; the *Surahs* and verses are numbered and indexed, but the book has no notes.

In the preface the author says: "I entertain the hope that this may be an addition to our stock of Yoruba literature, and it is interesting to note that some Yoruba words are from Arabic, *e.g.*, "*Keferi*" from "*Kafara*"—disbelieve; "*Kafarun*"—an infidel; "*Makaruru*" from

"*Makara*"—to plot; "*Haramu*"—illegal, unlawful; "*Monofiki*"—hypocrite. There is some similarity between Yoruba and Arabic or Hebrew expressions. I may meet with the taunt "Non licet esse vos" with some Puritanic ring about it, but if I am upbraided by certain of the weakminded in faith with supporting Mohammedanism by translating the Koran into the Yoruba language, I would reply in the spirit of a certain dignitary of the Church of England, to those who accused him of being a Romanist because Romish Missals were found in his study:—'I fain would know how to combat an error if I know not its visage and the means of its attack.' "

Persia after the War

The *Egyptian Mail* gives in a translation from the *Nova Vremyd* of Petrograd, August 12th, the new Agreement concluded between Great Britain and Russia.

It differs from that of 1907 in that the Persian Government shares in it on equal rights with England and Russia. Nine years ago, the article adds, Persia was regarded as an accessory product of Anglo-Russian relations, now she is treated as one of the parties to the Agreement.

The first point in the Agreement of 1916 concerns the formation of a Persian army. The former Swedish gendarmerie proved a curse to Persia, and Anglo-Russian diplomacy has come to the conclusion that such attempts must not be repeated. In Persia a national army is to be created, the organisation of which is to be entrusted in the north to Russia and in the south to England. The basis of the future Persian army is to be the present Persian Cossack Brigade, the numbers of which are to be increased to 11,000, including infantry, cavalry, and artillery. An army of the same dimensions will be formed in the south of Persia under English instructors. The Persian Government will in this way have at its disposal a force which will not leave it to its fate or betray it, or put itself into the hands of the enemy as did the Swedo-Persians gendarmerie.

The next point in the Agreement is the financial arrangement. The finances of Persia are to be entrusted to a mixed committee composed of two Persians, one Englishman, and one Russian, with a Belgian as president.

The third point is of a temporary character. Russia and England are to postpone the date on which Persia has to pay her debts, and meanwhile the Customs duties in Northern and Southern Persia will be paid to the Persian Treasury.

A Proclamation from Mecca

The following Proclamation has been issued to all Moslems by H.H. the Sherif of Mecca through his Agent in Egypt:—

"*In the name of God, The Merciful, The Compassionate.*"

This is Our General Manifesto to all our Moslem brethren.

"*Oh God, judge between us and our people in all justice, Thou who art the Judge of All.*"

There is none acquainted with history but knows that the Emirs of the Revered City of Mecca, desiring to strengthen the union of Islam and to bind it close together, were the first of all Moslem Princes and Governors to recognise the Sublime Porte, whose great Sultans of the House of Osman—may their dust be blessed, and may happy Eternity be for ever their sojourn—bound themselves to act accord-

ing to the Book of God, and the Law established by his Prophet—Peace and Prayer be upon him—applying the prescriptions of that Law in the most rigorous manner. Aiming at this supreme end the Emirs of Mecca have ever shown themselves the lieges of the Porte of unshaken fidelity. Did not I, in 1327, lead my Arabs in person against the Arabs who were besieging Ebka in order to raise that siege and to preserve the threatened honour of the Porte against all derogation? Again in the ensuing year was not a similar military operation undertaken under the command of one of my sons, and, not to mention events like to these, are these not facts known to all men and clearly established?

Then, within the Empire there formed itself the Committee of Union, which little by little took hold on power and at length made itself the absolute master of the Empire's destinies. The first consequence thereof was the mutilation of Turkey and her weakening and henceforward, since she entered the Great War, her progress towards an inevitable overthrow and ruin.

All this (they did) to satisfy ambitions which all know but which it were repugnant for us to seek to fathom here, and which have filled the hearts of Moslems with grief by reason of the evils of every kind which they have brought upon Islam. Everywhere upon the remains of the inhabitants of the Empire Moslem and non-Moslem, was wrought the work of destruction. Some were crucified or put to death in other ways, others were hunted from their homes in the accustomed manner, as if they had not had enough of every calamity that fell upon their persons and their goods in the course of the last wars and most of all in this War.

It is in this last war that the Holy Land of Islam has had to suffer in the highest degree. How many poor and even men of substance has one not seen selling, after their possessions and their household goods, even their doors and windows and the roofs over their habitations to buy food and escape death by hunger. Not content with this the Committee of Union sought to break the supreme bond which united the Ottoman Sultanate to the other Moslems of the World, namely the religious bond of (common) attachment to the Book and to the Law (Sunnah). One of its organs, the "Ijtihad" which is published at Constantinople has depicted the life of the Prophet (Peace and Prayer be upon him) in the blackest colours (God pardon this) and that too under the benevolent eyes of the Grand Vizier of the Empire and its Sheikh ul Islam, its Ulemas, its Ministers and its notables. With even greater audacity the Committee has attacked the Divine prescription whereby the man has twice a woman's share, by equalising their rights in matters of inheritance. Moreover,—inexpiable crime,—it has felled one of the five chief pillars of Islam, the Ramazan fast, ordering the soldiers (in garrison) at Medina or Mecca or Damascus, for example, to eat at forbidden hours on the pretext that their case was that of the troops fighting upon the Russian borders and seeking to make their act lawful by a blasphemous and vain interpretation of the Word of God "Whosoever of you is sick or on a voyage." Other deeds as criminal have they done, deeds whose doers the Law visits with the direst penalties. And what shall we say of the blows they have struck against the glorious Caliph, whom they have deprived of all his power, even of the right to choose the chief of his private Cabinet, to name the Steward of the Imperial Domains, deprived of his rights

as Sultan including the Sacred Right of watching over Moslem affairs and over the interests of his country and his subjects. What should we do faced by such deeds and such violations of the Sovereign right of the Caliphate as they are demanded and understood by Moslems? Should we not deny their authors straightway? And yet in spite of ourselves for a season we forced ourselves to interpret these desperate attempts in the most favourable manner so that the first stone should not be cast at us and that we should not be accused of seeking to sow division in the State, until the moment when the veil was lifted and what was hidden became clear, revealing to us that all power was in the hands of Enver Pasha, of Jemal Pasha and of Talaat Bey, who were governing as they pleased and acting according to the fullness of their will. Nothing establishes this more clearly than the order lately sent to the Cadi of the Mehkemeh Sharia of Mecca bidding him give judgment in virtue only of testimony collected in his Mehkemeh and in his hands to the exclusion of all testimony written without by Moslems together and in defiance of the texts in the "Chapter of the Cow."

This for one thing. And for another; what shall we say of these wholesale executions and hangings of the chief persons of Islam and of the Arab world, who rank among the noblest figures of the past and of to-day (i.e. of history) such as the Emir Omar El Jezairli, the Emir Arif El Shehahi, Shefik Bey El Moayed, Shukri Bey El Assali, Abdul Wahab and Tewfik Bey El Bassat, Abdul Hamid El Zahrawi and Abdul Ghani El Araissi. How horrible even to the hardest hearts is the sacrifice of a multitude of lives, even be they of mere cattle! But if we suppose that some legal justification can be discovered for these crimes how can we justify the banishment of the innocent families of these victims, women, old men and children and how can we restrain our most bitter tears at the spectacle of the tortures inflicted on these unhappy ones who have already suffered the cruel loss of their protectors and the destruction of their homes when God himself has said "Do not add one sin to another." And if our indulgence still permits us to excuse these horrid deeds what excuse can we find for the confiscation of the property of these families whence they drew their subsistence after they had been deprived through the death of their chiefs of their chief means of livelihood. And if by one last effort of blind tolerance we sought to find some just reason for all these acts, how can we explain, how pardon the sacrilegious profanation of the tomb of that model of nobility, of chivalry and of virtue the Emir Abdel Kader of Algeria, a profanation accompanied by the vilest insults!

These are but a few of the crimes they have committed. We limit ourselves to their enumeration in brief and to submitting them to the judgment of mankind in general and of Islam in particular but at the same time as a final proof of what these men's hearts nourish against the Moslem faith we add this, that they have dared to hurl against that ancient house which God has chosen for His dwelling and has made His own by the words "Make pure my house for those who visit it" "Kibla" (Meridian) of Islam and Kaaba of those who worship one God, yea, they have dared to hurl from the guns of their fort at Jaiad two shells one of which fell a yard and a half from the Black Stone and the other at a distance of three yards setting fire to the veils and to the holy Carpets. At this spectacle the thousand of the faithful assembled in the Holy place wishing to extinguish the flames hastened with cries of rage and horror, opening the doors of

the temple and climbing the stairs which lead to the roof in order better to extinguish the fire. But no sooner had they finished when a third shell fell upon the tomb of Abraham and new shells in succession made furrows in the other parts of the sacred enclosure which had become the chief target of the bombardment and of the rifle fire of those who would profane it. And afterwards fresh shells came daily, slaying the faithful three or four at a time in the sacred place so that the people dare not visit it and, forsook it. Have we ever seen sacrilege like this and more degrading scorn of the temple of God and were it not better for us still to leave judgment of these acts to the Moslem community throughout the world?

Certainly it were better, but our duty at this moment was not to leave our political and religious existence to be a plaything of the Unionists. And God, the exalted, the Almighty assisted the awakening of our country had aided it to win its independence and to see its effort crowned by victory and triumph, after having beaten down the right arm of the Unionists who were among us and their garrisons. Thus, we have become independent detaching ourselves entirely and definitely from those territories which still groan under the yoke of the Unionists, their masters. And this independence is both complete and absolute in the widest sense without any shadow of foreign interference. The sole object and the sole principle of our independence is the triumph of the Moslem faith and the magnifying of the prestige of the Moslems all its acts will be based upon the sacred law to which alone we shall have recourse and which shall be the ultimate foundation on which shall be based our judgments and all our jurisprudence both in its principles and in its details. And all the more shall we endeavour to receive all among the arts of modern progress and the conditions of genuine development which can be adapted to the principles and to the tendencies of our religion, sparing no effort for the honouring and the spreading of science among citizens of every rank according to their needs and their dispositions. This is what we have done in order to fulfil our religious duty and we pray our Moslem brothers in all the regions of the earth in their turn to fulfil the obligations which they shall believe necessary towards us by reason of the bonds which unite the great brotherhood of Islam. And we lift our hands towards God and we supplicate Him by the intercession of his prophet to grant us victory and to lead us on the good way which leads to the greatest good of Islam and of the Moslems. In the Most High we set our hope, He is our Protector and our Stay.

(sd.) HUSSEIN IBN ALI
Sherif and Emir of Mecca.

25 Shaaban 1334.

Jiddah under New Rule

The Cairo press, in trying to promote the pilgrimage this year, tells us:

"In Jeddah the task of administrative reorganisation has already been started. Enlightened doctors and Custom House officials, some of them Christians, have been appointed. In Mecca itself, whose soil is sacrosanct, and where only Moslems may be admitted, the recruiting of the *personnel* destined to carry on the work of reorganisation will take more time. Egypt and Syria, however, can supply a sufficient number of enlightened Moslems of modern education

to fill the posts; and now that the pacification of the country is likely to proceed apace, thanks to the fall of the last important port on the Hejaz coast—viz., Yambo, the port of Medina—we may expect this serious problem to be tackled and solved ere very long. An official *communiqué* has just been published here, declaring that postal communications between Egypt and the Hejaz have been re-established."

Islam and the Dog

Our readers will remember the tales told regarding the dogs of Constantinople, who have had their day and were cruelly starved on an island by the Young Turks. The Koran mentions "the dog" among the sleepers in the Cave and tradition even gives him the name of *Kitmîr* which is a mighty word in Moslem magic—for this dog has a place in Paradise with Mohammed's steed *Borāk* and the ass of Jesus and the camel of Salih. Yet in spite of these holy animals it is true as a correspondent in *The Near East* remarked that:

"Generally speaking, the peoples of the Levant and the Near East do not, I think, set so much store by a good dog as does the average Englishman. The shepherd may value the animal—often a fierce one—that helps him guard his flock, but he seldom makes a friend of it; similarly, the half-settled Arab encourages to a certain extent the watch dogs that make approach to his tents a matter of some anxiety to the traveller unacquainted with their peculiarities; while the true Bedawi and the Persian sportsman often shows something like affection for his swift greyhounds. Occasionally, too, you will find a Syrian, an Egyptian, or a Greek shooting man who owns a decent sporting dog of sorts; and, of course, wealthy pashas and princes often give a very high price for a showy big dog—Great Danes or boarhounds being the favourites, by reason, I suppose, of their short coats and their fine colours. But you seldom come across any native of the region referred to making a 'chum' of a dog as an Englishman will do. This may be a result of the Moslem idea that the dog is an 'unclean' animal; or it may be merely due to certain drawbacks attendant on dogkeeping in a hot climate. Be that as it may, the fact remains that 'Man's best friend' is but little understood in the Near East, where a pure-bred dog is a rarity."

Tipperary in Arabic—and a Law-suit

In Cairo some little time ago a certain native paper offered a prize for the best Arabic rendering of the song of Tipperary. The task of translating it can hardly have been an easy one; indeed it is one that any but the boldest man might well be pardoned for "funking." But some bold spirits essayed it, and, in due time, a certain Sheikh Ahmed Ashour was duly adjudged the winner. Then the trouble began. The journal which organised the competition was ready, so to say, to crown the successful poet's work—but not to hand over the monetary prize promised. As a result the Sheikh, wroth, no doubt, at the thought of burning the midnight oil in vain, has instituted an action against the proprietor of the journal. At the time of writing I do not know the result of his action, and, of course, I must refrain from comment upon a matter still *sub judice*. But I fancy that the translation of "Tipperary" is worth a good many piastres.

A Y.M.C.A. Hut in the Sahara

"I am writing from a Y.M.C.A. hut which I was instructed to open in a so-called oasis in that part of the Sahara known as the Libyan Desert. It is a very long way from Cairo and quite shut off from civilisation. Once it was a *real* oasis, with many hundreds of acres of palm groves and vineyards, and by all accounts it was a most beautiful place. It is right on the caravan route to Dafur and therefore used to be very important and prosperous. The very ancient Egyptians apparently cultivated it, as relics of prehistoric Egyptians are found here; but many other nations have also gathered its harvests of dates. . . . The place is now in the possession of a large force of troops, protected by many forts and trenches and miles of barbed wire, who are watching for a somewhat mythical Senussi army. . . .

"In this sun-stricken spot, 130 miles from the nearest town, in a desert, where there is no shade, no village, no shops, except an indifferent Egyptian canteen where warm beer and other luxuries can be obtained—in this spot we have placed our Y.M.C.A. On account of the heat the men are not called on to work between 9.30 a.m. and 4 p.m. and consequently have a great deal of time on their hands. The result has been therefore that from the day the Y.M.C.A. was opened up to now it has been full all the time."—D. N. MacDiarmid, *The Australasian Intercollegian*, Sept. 15, 1916.

BOOK REVIEWS

The Centennial History of the American Bible Society. By Henry Otis Dwight. The MacMillan Company, New York, 1916.

Nothing is more interesting than history well written, if badly written few things are more tedious. The book under review belongs to the former category and moreover has the great advantage of being well indexed. Dr. Dwight does not confine himself to a bare record of the origin and growth of the American Bible Society, its production and distribution of Bibles. He takes us right back to the springs of American Christian life and traces its development through profound political crises. We pass with him to Europe and get fascinating bird's-eye views of the political upheavals of many of its countries and how, under what appeared the most unfavourable conditions, the work of Bible distribution prospered; for God was behind it all, as our author never tires of impressing upon us. We are brought into touch with national and missionary developments in China, Japan and Korea. We see the Society's prompt recognition of America's responsibility towards the spiritual need of the Philippines and its patient efforts to spread the light of the Word in the priest-ridden countries of South and Central America. But perhaps the part that will most interest the readers of THE MOSLEM WORLD is his chapter on the Levant and his very considerable references to these Moslem lands in other chapters. He tells us a little, perhaps too little, of the early labours of Eli Smith and Van Dyck on the Arabic Bible in Malta, where the Beirut Press was first established to be out of the clutches of Turkish officials. We trace the Book rapidly winning its way through the Turkish Empire in spite of the clash of arms of contending nations, the persecutions and massacres, the great losses from sickness and death among the early bands of missionaries and the great poverty and ignorance of the oppressed peoples; in and out amongst all this we are able to follow the ever more rapidly waning power of Turkey. It is, too, in connection with the Arabic Bible that we have the finest example given to us of that cordiality and courtesy which marked throughout the whole century the relations of the American Bible Society with the British and Foreign Bible Society. Then there is a feature of the book that will be found most helpful to all who have anything to do with the administration of societies; Dr. Dwight takes his readers right into the Council Chamber of his Society and shows us how they mastered the difficulties and delicate situations that from time to time confronted them and in this connection he has some most illuminating comments to pass on to his readers. The history has had to close at perhaps the blackest period of this world-war, a war which some have hastily considered as the greatest blow Christianity has ever had, so in closing our author says:

"The stupendous changes yet to come are vaguely foreseen as men watch the terrible devastations of universal war convulsing the eastern hemisphere. But past experience proves that when God over-

turns and overturns He brings out of catastrophe new things better than men ask or think. There are greater works before us."

GEORGE SWAN.

The World and the Gospel. By J. H. Oldham, M.A. Published by the United Council for Missionary Education, 8 Paternoster Row, London, 1916. Pp. 234. 2 s. net.

This deeply thoughtful book will be greatly appreciated by all who are interested in missionary effort. It calls for a reconsideration of the first principles and fundamental truths upon which the missionary movement is based, in order that it may maintain its place among the many urgent tasks which will claim attention upon the restoration of peace.

Mr. Oldham points out that the attitude of non-Christian peoples to Christianity will be determined by what Christianity is actually in practice, and not by what missionaries declare it to be; a truth we missionaries may take to heart.

The growing influence of western civilisation amongst non-Christian peoples is a hindrance rather than an aid to missions. The knowledge of the existence of many great and flagrant social evils which exist in Christian lands, tend to make the native doubt the validity of our message. To counteract this evil, the preacher must make "the Christian protest against the unchristian forces in social and national life clearer, deeper and more potent than it has been in the past."

The Moslem world and Africa are dealt with in chapter V. The responsibility involved in the government of Moslems by Christian nations, the writer points out, is inadequately realised. In spite of evidence of the decay of Islam, Christendom still clings to the impression that it cannot be evangelised: and Islam is making rapid strides amongst primitive peoples especially in Africa; while it is true that the number of Christians who have gone over to Islam is far in excess of the number of converts from Islam to Christianity. The political caution of ruling Christian powers in dealing with their Moslem subjects is a great hindrance to the work of missions. Frequently it is found that the propagation of Islam is fostered at the expense even of the Christian missions. The unbelief of western civilisation is flooding Islamic lands; and with the increasing number of reform movements is adding considerably to the difficulties of the work.

Chapter VI is a consideration of what is implied in the proposition that "the proper aim of foreign missions is to establish in non-Christian lands, an indigenous, self-propagating church as a means to their evangelisation." The importance of education as part of missionary policy is carefully considered.

Chapter VII deals with three important questions which deserve earnest consideration in the formulation of a comprehensive policy of missionary education. The questions are: 1. The education of the missionary. 2. The education of the whole church. 3. The education of public opinion in regard to inter-racial relationship.

The concluding chapter summarises the whole argument, emphasising the personal demand of life in the service of love.

A comprehensive bibliography enhances the value of the book, which will repay earnest study.

HERBERT E. E. HAYES.

Kingdom Preparedness. By Bruce Kinney, D.D. Fleming H. Revell Company, 1916. Pp. 159.

The author, in six short chapters, brimful of interesting facts, depicts tersely and very cogently our nation's privileges, sins, and opportunities (the U. S. A.). His viewpoint is neither political, social nor educational but distinctly missionary. He calls upon our beloved land to conquer the world for Christ.

Whilst his list of national sins and shortcomings is appalling and the unchurched population at home a staggering fact, yet these he optimistically overcomes by calling the real Church to its manifest home mission task, in order at the same time to realise its higher world calling.

J. K.

Ahmed ibn Hanbal and the Mihna. By Walter M. Patton. E. J. Brill, Leiden. Pp. 208.

This is a valuable biography, from Arabic sources, of Ahmed ibn Hanbal (164–241 A.H.), the renowned Traditionist, in whose honour one of the four orthodox schools of Islam is named, though he himself did not found it. The author also treats of the Muslim Inquisition, known as the Mihna (218–234 A.H.) and carried out by the Khalifs, al-Ma'mûn, al-Muctasim, and al-Wâthiq. These three Mu'tazilite Khalifs, who held the doctrine that the Qurân was created and tried to force their subjects to hold the same view, are dealt with less leniently by the author than by most historians; on the other hand, al-Mutawakkil, the orthodox Khalif who succeeded al-Wâthiq, is dealt with more leniently.

By means of numerous quotations and translations from Arabic, the author brings out clearly the nature of Moslem theological controversy and historical writings. The firmness and conscientiousness of Ahmed ibn Hanbal under persecution for his faith are admirably presented. Dr. Patton aptly expresses in these words the weakness of all such narrow orthodoxy as Ahmed professed: "Belief founded on the letter of any standard of faith will always be narrow, dogmatic, and polemical. Life founded on the letter of any rule of conduct can be only hard and exclusive in character. Just, but not genial; irreproachable, but unattractive—such is the life."

I. N. Camp.

Mohammedan "Narratives of the Prophets," covering the period from Zecharias to Paul. Turki Text with English Translation. By G. W. Hunter.

This little book presents several features of considerable interest. The copy that lies before us is not printed, nor even lithographed, but produced by hand under the following circumstances by the Rev. G. W. Hunter, one of the members of the China Inland Mission residing at Tihwafu, Sinkiang, China.

"The best we could do," he says in the Introduction, "was to take 100 copies off a private mimeograph, and use the Chinese style of binding. We ask our readers to bear with us, if a little difficult to decipher; under the circumstances it is the best we can do." The result is a little book well worth the cost (2s. 6d., net) as a curiosity, to say nothing of its intrinsic interest as a sign of the brave spirit in which its translator, publisher and editor (for all these titles rightly

belong to Mr. Hunter) is working to fit himself the better to preach the Gospel of Christ to the Moslem inhabitants of "a very remote part of the earth." Nor has he worked without the hope that by producing the little book he may aid other students in their endeavour to gain a knowledge of the little known Turki language. We join him in the hope that the sale of the "first edition" may enable him to "get it revised and printed in a proper form," in which the Turki text will certainly be more easily read by the student. Here we may mention that Shaw's Grammar of Eastern Turki is the best companion we know to the student of the language, which, as representing an early and little corrupted form of Turkish, is in itself worthy of the attention of the philologist.

The Turki work from which this is an extract is a very free translation of the Arabic "Qisasu 'l Anbiyâ." The Arabic original, which is also known as the 'Arâisu 't Tîjân, was composed by the celebrated Ath Tha'labi, who died A.H. 427, or, as others say, 437. Ibn Khallikân in his "Târikh" writes of him thus: "Abû Ishâq Ahmad, son of Muhammad, son of Ibrâhîm, Ath Tha'labiyyu 'n Naisâbûrî, the famous Commentator, was unique in his own time in the science of hermeneutics, and he composed the great Commentary which excels the commentaries other than itself. And to him belongs the book Al 'Arâis Fi Qisas-i 'l Anbiyâ." He shews how highly he was honoured by his contemporaries for his character by relating the following story from Abû 'l Qâsimî 'l Qashîrî: "In sleep I saw the Lord of Glory (may He be glorified and honoured!), and He converses with me, and I converse with Him. Then meanwhile it came to pass that the Lord (may His Name be exalted!) said, 'The good man has drawn near!' Accordingly I observed, and lo! Ahmad Ath Tha'labi is approaching." The book is popular not only (as Mr. Hunter informs us) among the Turki-speaking people in Inland China, but also among Moslems in nearly every land, unless in case where contact with Western learning has made them ashamed of its absurd and ignorant statements. It exists in a Persian translation, which is more free and much fuller in detail than the Turki. In Ottoman Turkish also many of the tales in the Mir'atu 'l Kâinât are taken from this source. The book is therefore well worth the attention of those who desire to learn what absurdities the ordinary Mohammedan accepts as true accounts of not only the Patriarchs and the early Prophets of Israel, but also of our Lord and His Apostles.

The section which Mr. Hunter has published in Turki and translated into English is that which deals with the period covered by the New Testament. We have the Mohammedan fables dealing with the birth of John the Baptist, his father Zacharias, and his mother. The Turki follows the Arabic in stating that the Anna (Hannah) of St. Luke's Gospel was the wife of 'Imrân (Amram) and *mother of Moses and the Virgin Mary.* In this it has the authority of the Qur'ân to support it, as is well known. The translator wrongly renders the words "Hazrat Mûsa' 'alaihi's salâm-ning atalaridin," by "one of Moses' *ancestors*" (p. 42) instead of "one of Moses' *parents.*" The Turki translator has omitted Ibn 'Abbâs's denial of this (Arabic edition, p. 510). Other differences, too, occur. For instance the Arabic text tells us that Hannah's longing for a child in her barrenness was caused by her seeing a bird feeding her young ones, whereas the Turki account says she saw a woman feeding her children. In general, when the Arabic gives several versions of a tale, the Turki selects one of them, as in the account of the murder of John the

Baptist. John's blood flowed so freely that it threatened to destroy the whole land. Only by killing the princess whom the king had married (as well as her mother) could the evil be averted. The Turki omits, while the Arabic mentions, the names of Herod and Herodias. In general the Turki is much more concise than the original Arabic. The English translator has done his work fairly well, though here and there we come across a mistake. For instance "Al qissah" denotes in Turki (as in Persian and Urdu) "in short," or "to resume," not (as literally in Arabic) "the story." So in p. 47 "*mithla ummati k'almatari*" does not mean, "for example, my people are like rain," but "the likeness of my people is as rain," or simply (as in the Turki) "my people are like rain." But doubtless all such slight imperfections will be removed in the next edition of Mr. Hunter's book.

The Turki translator has omitted in each case the *isnâd*, which is given in the Arabic original, according to custom, with each Tradition. It occasionally contains details not found in the Arabic, as when Zacharias, in his prayer for a son, says, "My beard is white, my bones are decayed." But the Turki religiously follows the Arabic in explaining (wrongly) that Mary means "a servant-girl."

To those who are unaware of the extraordinary nonsense which in Moslem lands passes for the true history of our Lord and His Apostles, we are sure this little book will prove most interesting. In most places the stories are due to ignorance and credulity; but what is related of Saint Paul shews a prejudice against him which is very prevalent among Moslems generally, and which may doubtless be traced back to the influence of early heresies.

W. St. Clair Tisdall.

The Quranic Doctrine of God. (The Islam series.) By the Rev. W. R. W. Gardner, M.A. Christian Literature Society for India, Madras. 5 annas.

This little volume gives the result of long and careful study on independent lines on a subject about which it is fatally easy to assume that all has already been said. There are certain stereotyped judgments which are always passed upon the Moslem conception of God, and the grand object of the student is to get behind them and examine in as unprejudiced a manner as possible the point of view of Mohammed himself. Mohammed was essentially a preacher and not a theologian. He neither wished nor was able to reduce his beliefs to a fundamental code; it is to the later schoolmen that we must look for the crystallisation of what are commonly regarded as the most characteristic features of the faith. Mr. Gardner has done admirable work in demonstrating this by his minute examination of stock Quranic words and phrases. A *caveat* must be added, accordingly, with regard to the use of the book. The subject is strictly the *Quranic* not the *Moslem* Doctrine of God, and readers must not assume that any discussion is intended of the modern theological or popular ideas current among Moslems. On the contrary the author says in reference to one particular tenet: "The development of the orthodox Mohammedan doctrine of Predestination . . . appears to be a wrong interpretation of Qur'anic teaching." If this is borne in mind the book will be of considerable value to all readers, but especially to the close student of the Quran who will find many difficult points elucidated.

R. F. McNeile.

Jesus, the Missionary. By Rev. Hugh White. Presbyterian Mission Press, Shanghai, 1916.

The keynote of this little volume, to the missionary, would seem to be, "Let this mind be in you which was in Christ Jesus." Mr. White points out the identity of the environment and problems which the foreign missionary has and those which Jesus had, and in doing so makes most practical, sane and sympathetic suggestions to those whose service for the Master is amid pagan and Moslem peoples. The author writes as no novice could.

We believe everyone contemplating appointment to the foreign mission field should read it; the missionary on the field will find it excellent reading as a means to correcting his vision and the conduct of his work, whether relating to what deals with his executive, instructive, vicarious or intercessory service, and his conscious or unconscious temptations.

Among the specially valuable sections are those of the missionary's divine example in matters of apparent or actual success or failure, organisation, financial questions, personal relations, physical conditions and efficiency, institutional work, and the missionary's inner life. Every page contains some practical and valuable suggestion.

R. S. McC.

Storia della Literature Bizantina (324–1453). By G. Montelatici. Milano, 1916. Pp. 300.

An encyclopædic compendium of information on the subject indicated, dividing it into three periods and dealing with prose and poetry in each. The chapters that interest the student of Islam are those on the second period, 640–1080, when the basis of all thought, religious and secular, was found in the Neo-Platonic version of Aristotelianism. This was borrowed directly by Moslem scholars in Damascus who translated it freely into Arabic. The rival religions, therefore, had a common basis for their philosophies, but the resulting polemic does not come within the scope of this book.

R. F. McNeile.

From the Gulf to Ararat, an Expedition through Mesopotamia and Kurdistan. By G. E. Hubbard. Wm. Blackwood & Sons, Edinburgh and London. Pp. 276. 10s. 6d., net.

It was not necessary for the author of this most interesting book of travel to offer an apology that it records a journey which took place before the war, because the route followed by the International Boundary Commission to fix the boundary between Russia and Persia passed through those very portions of Mesopotamia and Kurdistan which have a special interest now through the world war. The author was the secretary of the British Commission and in the opening chapter gives an historical account of the Turko-Persian boundary question which for seventy years has occupied the interested powers. Doubtless all the work of the Commission will have to be done over again when the new map of Asia is drawn after the war.

The book not only gives an accurate geographical account of Eastern Mesopotamia from the Persian Gulf to Kasr-i-Sherin, but of the country of the Kurds, their customs and characteristics. In describing the last stage of the journey, from Zab to Ushnu, the writer tells of the news that reached them from Urmia on August 4th,

1915, of the outbreak of the war. This naturally broke up the expedition.

In describing Urmia a tribute is paid to the work of the American Mission among the Nestorians as well as to the Mission of the Archbishop of Canterbury. Too brief is the reference to the massacres by the Turkish troops and Kurdish tribesmen. "Only a small remnant of the Christian population can have survived the massacres, the epidemic, and the enormous mortality among those who, when the Russian forces withdrew from Urmia, attempted in the very depths of winter to reach the Russian frontier on foot. In Urmia itself hardly a single Christian escaped except those whom the gallant Americans saved."

The book contains sixty beautiful illustrations and is interesting from cover to cover, but it seems unpardonable for the secretary of the Boundary Commission to describe this great unknown stretch of country and give the reader no map, save the outline apology for a map pasted on the inside cover.

S. M. ZWEMER.

L'Europe devant Constantinople. By Max Hoschiller. Paris, Librairie des Sciences Politiques et Sociales, Marcel Rivière et Cie, 31, Rue Jacob, 1916. Pp. 147. 3 francs.

In this book the author examines the different problems that the great European powers are working out and of which Constantinople is the solution. He gives an exposition of the diplomatic history of the European chancelleries in the Near East since the great crisis of 1878–1879.

F. J. DUPRE.

La Syrie Francaise. By Comte Cressaty of Damascus. H. Floury, editor. 1, Boulevard des Capuciñes, Paris, 1915. With a map of Syria. Pp. 40. 60 centimes.

In this pamphlet the Comte de Cressaty takes up once again the question that has busied him for the last twelve years, viz.: the share that will fall to France in the division of the Ottoman Empire. He points out the value of Syria and Palestine for France and the rights of France to claim these provinces.

An interesting point of consideration is the position of Syria in the midst of Moslem countries and the fact that "La France est une grande puissance arabe" who could strengthen her Moslem Empire from that stronghold in the Levant.

F. J. DUPRÉ.

La Syrie de Demain—France et Syrie; Syrie proprement dite; Gouvernement et administration; Religion et races. Par Nadra Moutran. Pp. VIII, 462. Paris, Librairie Plou Nourrit et Cie, 1916. 6 francs.

Syria as an inevitable part of the French Empire is the author's theme. In the first part he attacks various objections to the eviction of the Turks and concludes that France alone can properly rule Syria. The second part describes the country and discusses such important subjects as the Hedjaz and Bagdad railways, the Lebanon, the Jews, and the Caliphate. Part III is an outline of the political machinery which the author thinks necessary to give a satisfactory administration. Part IV gives a short account of each of the races

and religious sects. The author is a Melchite, or Greek Catholic, and gives a slightly disproportionate space to that sect, but treats all with an open mind. He pays a tribute to the work of the Syrian Protestant College, and speaks of the remarkable place which Protestant scholars have had in the renaissance of Arabic literature, giving a short account of the literary and scientific work of several American and Syrian Protestants. He appreciates the philanthropic work of the American Mission, especially during the war, but says that no large Protestant community has been established. The book contains much condensed information about Syria which would be hard to find in any other work.

J. GREENSLADE.

The Spell of Egypt. By Archie Bell. The Page Company, Boston, 1916. Pp. 359. $2.50 net.

To the tourist and superficial reader this picture of Egypt and the Egyptians will prove most interesting. It is charmingly written in lively conversational style, but it is not a weighty addition to the wealth of knowledge about Egypt on the shelves of our libraries. This work is one of "The Spell Series" of travel books. The one serious charge which can be brought against all such works is that, written as they are largely by tourists and journalists, they comprehend only that which is obvious and apparent in the life and environment of the people with which they deal. This much they may do accurately, and at the same time interestingly, as in the case of the present volume; but the very charm of style and accuracy of detail only tends to draw the reader's interest away from the larger and fundamental movements which lie hidden behind the too often superficial surface phenomena in the life and surroundings of any people.

The book is most beautifully and lavishly illustrated and contains a good map, bibliography and index.

G. C. B.

A Short Apology for Being a Christian in the Twentieth Century. By Rev. George Williamson Smith. Longmans, Green & Company, New York. Pp. 132. $.80 net.

This scholarly and sympathetic answer to a friend's objections to Christianity would be better if its strong arguments were presented more systematically and with less space given to the unbeliever's objections; which to a Moslem, for example, might suggest more doubts than the book would cure.

F. S. THOMPSON.

The Natural Method of Bible Teaching for India. By E. A. Annett. Published by the India Sunday School Union, Jubbulpore, C. P.

This volume is an excellent hand-book for presenting Christian teaching to the adolescent mind, not only of India, but of the Near and Far East. The author reveals clearly the defects of prevalent memorising and moralising methods, which either neglect the heart for the mind, or attempt to force teaching upon premises entirely unfamiliar to the child. His solution is that of Christ and also the modern psychologist,—story-telling. The remainder of the book shows how finely the Bible adapts itself to this method, and how best to visualise and vitalise Bible stories for the children of the Orient.

E. E. ELDER.

The Muslim Fast. By Anwar-ul-Haqq. 1 1/2 annas.
God as Triune, Creator Incarnate, Atoner. By W. H. T. Gairdner. 3 annas.
Published by the Christian Literature Society for India, Madras.

These two pamphlets are additions to the valuable series on Islam published in India. The treatment of the Moslem fast is by a convert from Islam who attended the Cairo Study Centre and has made excellent progress in his studies. It consists of a comparison between the teaching of tradition in Islam and the teaching of the Christian Scriptures. We hope it will have a wide circulation. The second pamphlet is a reply to Mohammedan objections and an able essay in philosophic apology. Our readers know what to expect from Canon Gairdner on these lines and no one will be disappointed. Under God as Triune, the author states and answers five philosophical objections. Under God as Creator, he attempts to reconcile the doctrine of the Trinity with God as Creator, Incarnate, Atoner. Chapters III and IV expand those two ideas last named and, in the light of Scripture, the author declares that nothing but perfect holiness and love could have involved such cost as the sacrifice of Christ for the world.

Z.

Recent Exploration in the Holy Land. By Camden Cobern, D.D. The Collegiate Publishing Company, Meadville, Pa.

This very readable volume consists of two parts; Part I (pages 1–130) gives a résumé of recent explorations in Palestine, not confined to the work of the author or of any one society. As a "Popular Introduction to the Subject," it is very readable, most interesting, and well illustrated.

Part II is, in a sense, a self-contained brochure of thirty pages on the identification of 'Ain Kadeis as Kadesh Barnea, including the author's visit to it. His conclusions appear quite convincing even if his early descriptions were, as he now admits in the Preface, rather "glowing." The immediate outcome of reading Dr. Cobern's book was an added interest in Dr. Hoskins' most fascinating work, "From the Nile to Nebo," already reviewed in these pages.

A. T. U.

The Disintegration of Islam. By Samuel M. Zwemer, F. R. G. S. Fleming & Revell Company, New York, 1916. 8vo. Pp. 231. $1.25 net.

This book deserves more than a brief review. Delivered before three theological seminaries, and written by one occupying Dr. Zwemer's position of leadership and authority, it holds a presumptive claim to interest, to reliable information and to responsible judgment. To read these lectures is to feel that, on the whole, the claim is well established.

Dr. Zwemer's mind moves along dramatic lines. He is therefore at his best when surveying world movements such as those that are taking place in Islam. The author's facility for gathering facts is amazing. These are brought together from every conceivable part of the Moslem world: from Morocco, Mecca and Malaysia, from Khartum, Cairo, Constantinople, Calcutta, China, picked up out of current events, out of the lectures of Islam's theological schools, from off the pages of Islam's fast growing public press, out of the routine life of the Moslem home or the sudden outbursts of a fanatical mob,—and these facts are all focussed upon the main theme of *disintegration* in the Moslem world. In swift succession do these facts

of Islam's life pass before the reader, bringing information, illumination, surprise, questionings. It is the nearest possible experience to some swift actual journey through Moslem territory. Not always does Dr. Zwemer satisfy one's questionings, not always does he discuss as fully as one wishes the significance of the facts he thrusts forward; he has other facts awaiting their turn for presentation and he hastens away to usher them in. The book's wealth lies in its mastery of facts and it is well that this is so, for it is just such material that the West requires to deepen its consciousness of the existence and reality of the great Moslem world. This book has a particular value among all of Dr. Zwemer's books; it comes the nearest to making vivid and real "things as they are" in the Moslem world; it is not so much theoretical and philosophic, as factual.

At a few points the author leaned too heavily upon passing events which had not reached a secure conclusion when he wrote. For example he speaks of British "victories at Amara and Ctesiphon" and the impending occupation of Bagdad. He forecasts also the permanent appropriation by Great Britain of Moslem areas hitherto held by Germany. All of this is a further reminder that to chronicle historical events is safe, to interpret them is difficult, while to prophecy is always dangerous.

The scope of these interesting and informing lectures by Dr. Zwemer may be suggested by a brief summary of the book. The first chapter discusses "The Dead Weight of Tradition," the history and origin of these traditions, their number and character. It points out the blight that has fallen upon every sphere of human life: the home, childhood, the imagination, educational life, public and private morality and the Moslem's impulse to fanaticism.

The second chapter points out "The Revolt" against Tradition, Islam's efforts to reform itself. Three distinct efforts are elaborated: that of Sufiism, the Wahabi movement, and that of Syncretism.

The third chapter presents the "Political Collapse" of Islam, portrays the failure of Pan-Islamism and suggests the probable effects of the present war.

The fourth chapter raises the question, "Has New Islam a Future?" The repeated and yet vain efforts to rehabilitate Islam are traced in the matter of religious and theological reformation, in the conflicting suggestions of the Moslem public press and in the vain striving to assimilate Western ideas. Finally, the book deals with the "Present Day Attitude toward Christ and Christianity." The deepseated opposition of Islam to Christianity is measured, the futile efforts made to reconcile Islam and Christianity are indicated and the hopeful elements in the present situation are pointed out.

There are certain classes of readers for whom the book will have special value and interest. Missionary leaders and workers at the home base will find here a mine of rich material for their own information and for the inspiration of others. Missionaries in the foreign field will be lifted by this book out of any limited and partial views of their task and will catch a glimpse of the broad sweep of Providence and the Holy Spirit in their operations in the Moslem world. The missionary to Moslems will find here a fresh revelation of the inadequacy of Islam, its inability to reform itself and the unparalleled opportunity of entering in *now* with the Gospel of Christ.

The book is splendidly illustrated, but lacks an Index to make it most serviceable to those who, having read it, desire to turn to it for ready reference.

CHARLES R. WATSON.

SURVEY OF RECENT PERIODICALS

I. GENERAL

Notes on the Gabri Dialect of Modern Persian. Major D. L. R. Lorimer. *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, London. July 1916. Pp. 423–489.

A commentary on the account of the dialect given in the Grundriss der Iranischen Philologie i, 2 (1895–1901), sec. VIII, subsec. III, "The Central Dialects," by Wilhelm Geiger. The work was carried through at Kerman in June–October 1914 with the help of a man who himself talked the Yezdi sub-dialect but was familiar with the Kermani and a Kermani Gabr.

"Considerations of space obliged me to adhere with but little divergence to the path traced by the G. I. P. A number of interesting phonetic and morphological phenomena, peculiarities of idiom and construction, parallels in the Bakhtiari and Kermani dialects, and the question of representation in the Arabic script, on which the material I have collected would enable me to comment, I have been obliged at least for the present to pass by on the other side. . . . Common themes with slight modifications have been found in the folk tales of the Bakhtiaris, the Kermanis and the Gabrs."

Kut-el-Amara. Lieut.-Col. A. C. Yate. *Scottish Geographical Magazine*, Edinburgh. August 1916.

Philological notes on the origin and meaning of the name.

De Berlin a Constantinople: un échec diplomatique de Louis XIV en 1659. E. Griselle. *Revue des Études Historiques*, Paris. Juillet-Septembre 1916.

A study of the conditions in the Near East in 1658–1659, which called for the diplomatic mission of Blondel from Berlin to Constantinople.

II. SOURCES OF ISLAM IN ARABIA

III. HISTORY OF ISLAM UP TILL RECENT TIMES

Western Sudan History. H. R. Palmer. *Journal of the African Society*, London. April 1916.

The translation of the "Raudthât 'ul Afkâri," by Mohammad Bello Emir of Sokoto, written sometime subsequent to 1823 and before 1837 for in the latter year he died. "It is in some respects an epitome of his larger work 'In fak el Maisuki' but it has a wider purview and is in fact a general short history of the Western Sudan."

IV. KORAN, TRADITIONS, THEOLOGY, ETC.

Some more Quatrains of Abu Sa'id bin Abil Khair. Edited with a Translation and Notes by H. D. Graves Law. I. C. S. *Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Calcutta. September 1916. Vol. XII, No. 4.

A collection of quatrains reproduced from (1) A small volume in the State Library at Hyderabad, Deccan, lithographed at Bombay in 1297 A.H. (2) A MS. copy containing 161 quatrains found by the author in an Oriental book shop in Hyderabad City. The collection omits 83 quatrains already published by Maulvi 'Abd-ul Wali in J. A. S. B. Vol. V, No. 11 (Dec., 1909) and Vol. VIII, No. 10 (Nov., 1911); and as many as 44 of those included have been attributed either to Abu Sa'id or to other writers in various memoirs and elsewhere. The remaining 54 have not been traced to their source, though "it is certain that they are all to be found somewhere." An interesting account of the life and writings of Abu Sa'id is also given.

V. RELIGIOUS AND SOCIAL LIFE OF ISLAM

Arabia and the Arabs. V. Dingelstedt. Corresp. member of the R. G. S. S. *Scottish Geographical Magazine*, Edinburgh. July, August 1916.

General notes on the physical features, climate, natural products and inhabitants of Arabia. "It is highly desirable that attention should be directed to it by all civilised nations and quite especially by enterprising and practical British explorers and merchants."

VI. POLITICAL RELATIONSHIPS

To Persia around the War Zone. The late Rev. S. G. Wilson. *Missionary Review of the World.* September 1916.

The author's last letter on his journey to administer American Relief funds among the destitute Armenians and Assyrians.

In the Hands of the Turks. *The Times*, London. September 15 and 27, 1916.

An American woman's experiences recently returned from Beirut, Syria, by way of Turkey, Bulgaria, Austria Hungary and Germany. Terrible facts are given about the Armenian massacres and the terror into which British civilians were plunged.

Egypt and Palestine. Albert M. Hyamson. *Quarterly Review*, London. October 1916.

An extended review and criticism of a number of books recently issued on questions affecting Egypt and Palestine, including several on the Zionist movement.

The Mohammedan Law-Courts of Egypt. Sir Malcolm McIlwraith, K. C. M. A. (late Judicial Adviser to the Egyptian Government). *Nineteenth Century*, London. October 1916.

A brief account of the metamorphosis which began last year with the establishment of the British Protectorate with some explanation of the nature of the forces that have impeded progress for so long. "It is not suggested that the millennium has arrived and that no more abuses are to be apprehended, but the marked improvement already noted in the general tone of these courts affords ground for high hopes of radical improvement in the future."

VII. HISTORY OF MOHAMMEDAN MISSIONS

A Call from the Kashgais. Rev. J. H. Linton. *Church Missionary Review*, London. October 1916.

An account of a fortnight's visit to the chief of the Kashgais by Dr. Carr of the C. M. S. and the author during which large numbers came for treatment and even more to hear the Gospel preaching.

Mesopotamia: its Interest for Christendom. Canon Parfit. *The East and the West*, London. October 1916.

A sketch of the importance of Mesopotamia in the work of the Nestorians and some account of the mission of the Plymouth Brethren in 1828–1833. The strategic importance of a strong Christian Church in Mesopotamia is estimated from the point of view of the evangelisation of Arabia. "Invitations from the heart of Arabia have reached the Mission doctors at Baghdad, with offers of a welcome to places where the foot of the 'infidel' is not generally allowed to tread. . . . It was through Mesopotamia that the truth about the War penetrated to the heart of Islam, and it is through Mesopotamia that the Christian Church will find an open avenue for the presentation of the Gospel of peace to the central strongholds of the Moslem World."

The Revenge of Love in Turkey. Rev. S. Ralph Harlow. *Missionary Review of the World.* September 1916.

A description of the work of the American Board's International College and Collegiate Institute for Girls at Smyrna during the past year.

A Christian College in Egypt. R. S. McClenahan. *Missionary Review of the World.* September 1916.

An interesting account of the College as a factor in the evangelisation of Islam. "Out of the 321 graduates up to the present time, 104 have entered the Gospel ministry; 59 are teachers in the American Mission and other schools in Egypt and the Sudan. . . . There are 72 members of the Student Volunteer Union. In present Senior class there are 13 students definitely preparing to enter the Gospel ministry out of a class of 36."

VIII. APOLOGETIC

Hoe te Prediken voor Heiden en Mohammedaan? Dr. A. M. Brouwer. De Prediking en de Godsdienst der Hoorders. *Mededeel. Nederlandsch Zendelinggenootschap.* Rotterdam. 60e. Deel. Ie, 3e Stuk. 1916.

(i) De Godsdienst in het Algemeen; (ii) De Godsdienst in Indoesië.

Islam, an Appreciation. Rev. Gilbert Reid, D.D., of the International Institute of China, Shanghai. *The Biblical World*, Chicago. July 1916.

A discussion under the Billings Lectureship claiming an appreciation of Islam on the ground of its teaching concerning Allah, the great religious reformation wrought by Mohammed, the high place given to Jesus Christ, the importance attached to prayer and the teaching concerning the resurrection of the body, charity and religious tolerance.

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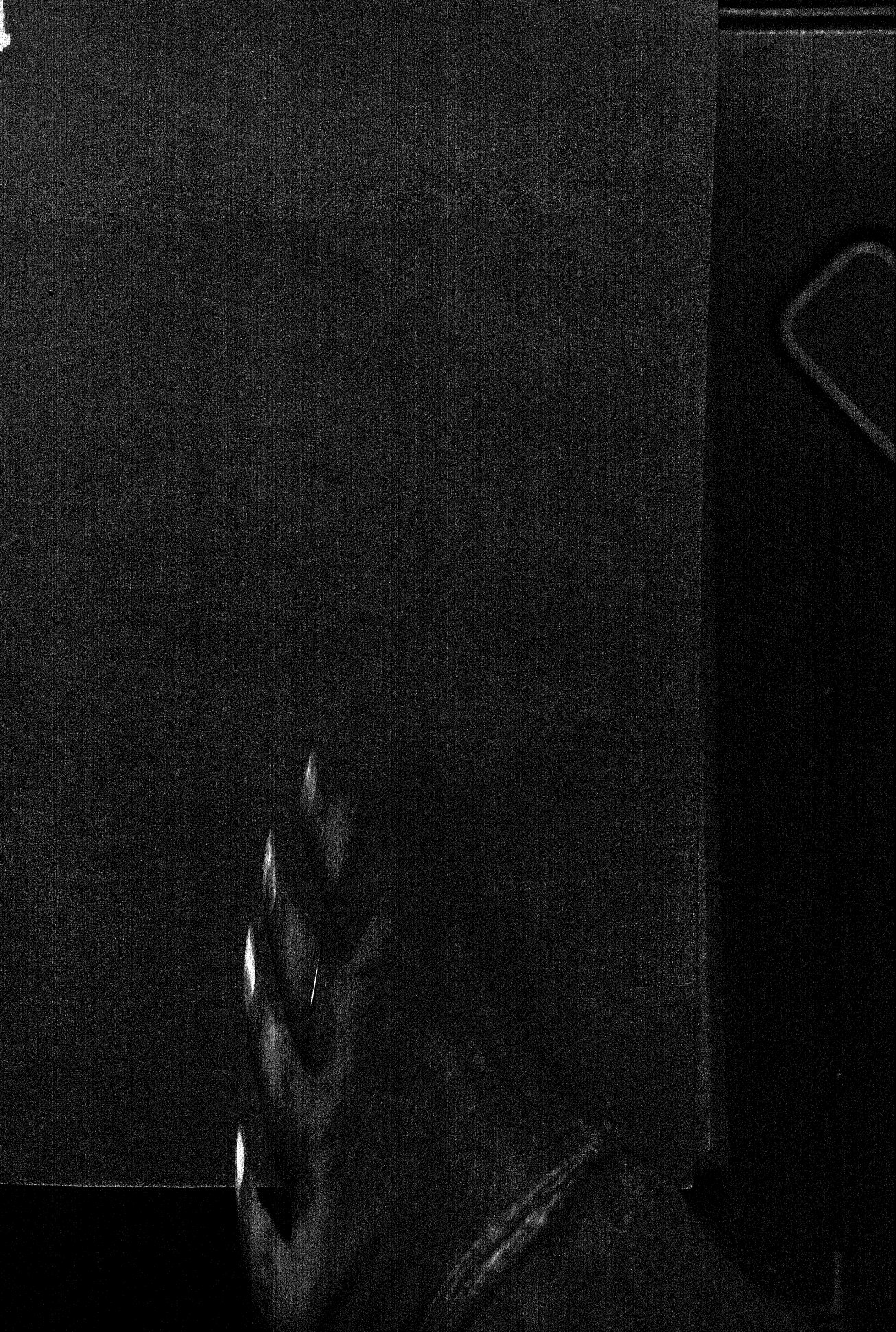
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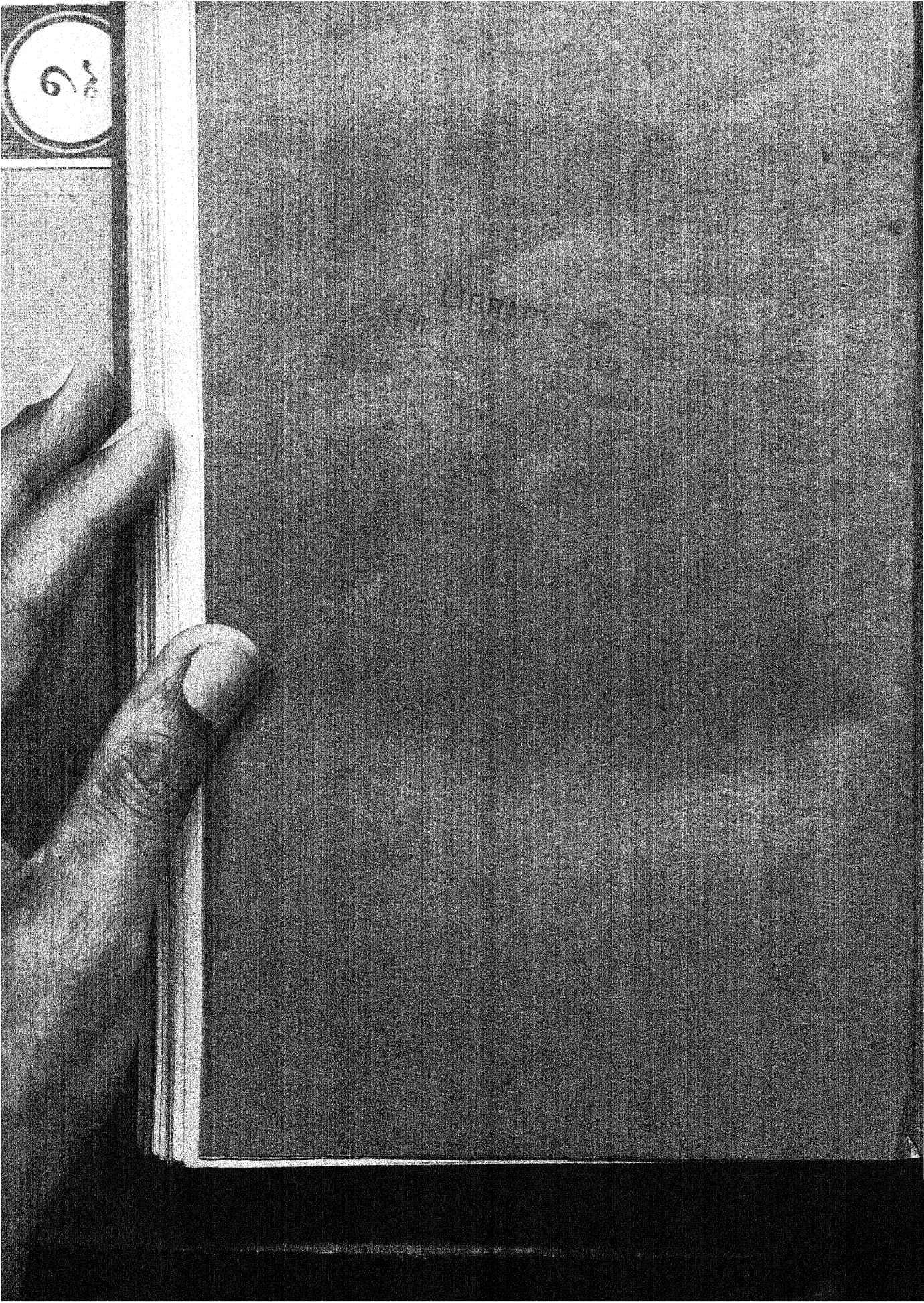
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VOL. VII, No. 2 APRIL, 1917

THE MOSLEM WORLD

A quarterly review of current events, literature, and thought among Mohammedans and the progress of Christian Missions in Moslem lands

Editor: SAMUEL M. ZWEMER, D.D.

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THE MOSLEM WORLD

VOL. VII APRIL, 1917 NO. 2

EDITORIALS

REINFORCEMENTS

THE present war has shown that man power is more important than money power in a long-drawn conflict. It is calculated that before the close of the year 1916 there had already been eighteen and a half million casualties of which deaths make up one fourth! Such is the dreadful record of the destruction of young manhood. Tens of thousands who were the flower of the University life of Protestant Europe are numbered among the slain or the maimed. The struggle for supremacy on the battlefields of Europe has cost a larger toll of men than the whole history of the missionary enterprise. It was to these enormous losses of life that the Prophet Isaiah referred when he said: "I will make a man more rare than fine gold. Even a man than the pure gold of Ophir!"

The greatest need of Missions among Moslems now—and a need that will be enormously emphasized after the war—is reinforcements. It is the part of wisdom, therefore, to face the new conditions that will obtain after the war in the Turkish Empire, in Persia, in Arabia, in Egypt and North Africa. The issues of the war are so closely related to the issues of the Kingdom that we may well consider them in terms of recruits and of the mobilization of these vital forces of the Church after peace is declared.

In Egypt to-day as never before there is manifest among Moslems an interest in Christianity and its teachings. Copies of the Scriptures and religious tracts are being bought and read by Moslems to an extent unparalleled in the past history of Islam. A spirit of religious inquiry

is manifest among many Moslems, even of those who are recognized as sheikhs or religious teachers. The attendance of Moslems is increasing in both the regular and special meetings held under Christian auspices.

From Busrah unprecedented orders for Christian literature and Scriptures have come to the Nile Mission Press to meet the new conditions of liberty and inquiry already following upon the British occupation. Such fields as the Turkish Empire and Persia, which were terribly undermanned before the war broke out, will make a new appeal of supreme urgency when the period of reconstruction begins. We will then face needs that are appalling in their extent and deep beyond measure in their pathos. Where the Armenian martyr Church has shed its blood is now holy ground; and because of this sacrifice there will be unprecedented opportunities for the manifestation of the love of Christ to Moslems. In addition to all this there are the unoccupied provinces of the Near East, a challenge to venture and faith and Christian boldness. Such a task calls for our best and highest endeavor. "The great conflict with Islam," said a missionary leader in 1912, "which the coming decades will bring to the Church of Christ, and in comparison with which all that has already been done among Mohammedans has been only play, only a preliminary skirmish, needs missionaries who will in truth fast and pray; that is to say, who, with new and holy devotion, will cut themselves loose from all that hinders, and become whole-hearted disciples of Jesus Christ; men who are not transiently excited by the flickering light of unconsidered plans and hopes, but who will serve with patience, quietness and constancy, relying with child-like trust on the might of the unseen God."

We may thank God that by His providence He has brought thousands of the choicest men from New Zealand, Australia, Canada and Great Britain into closest contact with the Near East during the war. They have seen service in Egypt, at the Dardanelles, in Salonica and Mesopotamia. There they had the joy of sacrifice and learned to endure hardness. There faith in God grew strong among those who knew Him. These Christian

men, many of them from the universities and colleges, saw the opportunities for medical, educational, and social service. They have come into close touch with Islam and its needs. To them the Near East has spoken of a higher warfare and they have seen the coming of a Kingdom without frontiers or race-barriers. It is for the Church to extend to them the call for reinforcements and to do it now. As we read in this number of our QUARTERLY the life record of Andrew Watson in Egypt and Samuel Wilson in Persia, not to mention others, we remember the story of Elisha, how "he took up also the mantle of Elijah that fell from him, and went back, and stood by the bank of the Jordan. And he took the mantle of Elijah that fell from him, and smote the waters and said, Where is Jehovah, the God of Elijah? and when he also had smitten the waters, they were divided hither and thither; and Elisha went over."

S. M. ZWEMER.

Cairo.

THE DOCTRINE OF REVELATION IN ISLAM

CAN man by reason and without revelation reach a knowledge of God? If he can, how far does that rationally reached knowledge extend? That there is a creator? That that creator has certain qualities? And if so, what? That there is by the nature of things a moral law binding upon men, for the keeping of which man can be held responsible?

These are fundamental, preliminary questions, and Islam has answered them as follows. It is heresy to hold that there is a moral law binding upon men which man must know by his reason. There is no moral nature in things. To hold otherwise is to limit the power and will of Allah. Revelation is therefore necessary to tell men that a thing is good or bad. Further, one orthodox school even held that the knowledge of God could be reached only by revelation. But that position, though still orthodox, has, I think, been widely abandoned. Orthodox Islam has come rather to the position that man by his reason can know that the world had a creator, existent from all eternity and to all eternity, different from all created things, self-subsisting one, possessing power, will, knowledge, life, and some add, speech. So far, and so far only, reason can go and, according to some few, must go. That is, a few have held that a man is responsible for not having so much knowledge of God as this, even though no revelation has come to him. Again, some have held—I follow the systematic theologians, the scholastics—that unless reason proved so much as this, there could be no basis for revelation. That is, if we start absolutely with revelation, we argue in a circle.

But in all this we must guard carefully against giving reason a power of *approving*; the process of deduction by which these results are reached it finds clear, but no more. Reason is simply a logical instrument and has no power

in itself of stamping things as true or false, good or bad. To hold otherwise, as some did, is heresy.

To supplement this intellectual irreducible minimum, Allah has sent to mankind the prophets, who are to be regarded as messengers bringing statements, commands and prohibitions from him. The truth of their claim to be such messengers is proved by their miracles, which Allah works for them in support of their assertions. The miracle is like a voice from Allah. "This, my messenger, speaks the truth." The first of these prophets was Adam, for from the very beginning God has given man such necessary light; and the last is Muhammad. Between these have come very many, for the tendency of mankind is towards evil, and he speedily forgets what he has been taught and follows his own vain desires. Each prophet then, after Adam, has been a reformer, leading men back to the true primeval faith, and these succeeding revelations have differed only in details of the ritual law. When this law comes to a man, it is incumbent upon him to obey it, and he who rebels against it is justly punished. But what of those to whom no prophet has come or who lived in the unbelieving and ignorant spaces between prophets? Are they held responsible for faith and action according to the law? If they lived in absolute ignorance that there has ever been a revelation, Islam teaches that they will be saved and given a special paradise of their own, for they have no legal works, such as *sala*, *saum*, *hajj*—the *'ibadat* generally, to their credit. Such would be those who might be found at the ends of the earth, beyond the mountains. But to these, as popular Islam is fond of describing in its tales, an angel would appear and teach them enough for a saving faith. Such cases, however, must be rare. Many prophets have come, and revelation is spread widely, if corruptly, among men. If, then, such a revelation going back to any prophet, even to Adam, has come to a man, is that enough to make him responsible? Some say that it is; others that each prophet is to be considered only with the people to whom he was sent; others are not supposed to have received his message. Those, therefore, who lived in the intervals

are held free of responsibility. After Muhammad, however, who was sent to all mankind, all men are held responsible. Yet al-Ghazzali teaches that those to whom only the name and a false and misleading description of Muhammad have come cannot be held responsible for not accepting his message (*Tafriqa*, ed. Cairo 1319, pp. 75 ff.). This position stricter Islam doubts but, being held by al-Ghazzali, it must be regarded as possible.

Again, as to Allah's commands, another distinction may enter. They are major and minor, and some have held that the minor commands are binding only upon a people to whom they were brought by a specific messenger, while the major commands are binding upon all whom they may have reached. Others, again, hold by the solidarity of each prophet with his people with regard to all the commands of Allah. There are signs, also, of an attempt, based on Qur. vii, 171, to construct a covenant between Allah and men. It is told that Allah drew forth from Adam all his future posterity and entered into such a covenant with them, by which they should accept him as their Lord. But this theory was not, I think, worked out.

Again, revelation, in Islam, is not only a juridical basis for life—as shall appear more fully immediately—but also a theory of knowledge. So emphasis is always laid upon the prophets being sent to give useful information as to this world as well as the world to come. To information thus imparted to mankind by Allah through his messengers the prophets, we are indebted for all the knowledge we possess, not simply as to religious things but as to the nature—if that word may be used—of this world in which we live. The secrets of medicine and of astronomy, for example, could never have been attained by man if he had been left to himself. For, we must remember, the Muslim theologian does not regard the universe as a continuous thing, each part related to and corresponding with every other part, so that each explains the other and the whole, all being bound together under a system of law. We, holding such a view, can hope gradually to unravel the whole. But for the Muslim theologian the

universe is a conglomerate of discontinuous parts, each separate and each based on the immediate will of Allah. And that will does not necessarily work according to a scheme; it might, if it chose, upset the whole order of the universe, and it is only out of regard for man that it does not do so. Man, obviously, could not live in a world that did not go according to a certain custom or usage—never, however, to be called law or nature. The utmost of adaptation is that man in his structure is adjusted to correspond to the world in which he is placed. Thus his senses are such as to give him reliable information concerning the objects of sense around him. He has a sense of sight—he is surrounded by visible things; of hearing—he is surrounded by audible things. In so far has the idea of the microcosm and the macrocosm gained footing in Islam. Man, then, must be taught if he is to know the world in which he is, and that teaching has been granted to him by Allah through the prophets.

But there is also, as we have seen, the juridical side, and it is there that Muslims lay most stress. Allah narrates to mankind through the prophets about God, man and the world; but he also commands and forbids. These commands and prohibitions apply to all sides of life and form a system of canon law, a doctrine of what man must do and must not do, is advised to do and dissuaded from doing, and of what is left free to him to do or leave undone—all under rewards and penalties. That men must do this and leave that is not based, as we have seen, on anything in these things themselves—on a nature of good or of evil, but solely on the will of Allah. Man, therefore, cannot by his reason know what Allah requires him to do; he must be taught. On this point three views have appeared in Islam: one heretical, rising indeed to a limiting of the power of Allah, and that means flat unbelief, and the other two possible. The first is that the law is based upon reason, for reason has a power of discerning and pronouncing upon good and evil; thereafter came the prophets and confirmed this law. This view Islam definitely rejected. Man's reason only follows, that is, it can grasp what of the law is taught to him, but cannot reach

it independently, there being no nature of good or evil in things. The other two views differ as to the part played by reason in accepting the decree of Allah as to what is good and what is evil. The majority hold that reason plays no part at all; but it is a possible view that it acts therein, but only as an instrument by which man knows that an action merits reward or punishment, not that it decides of itself what is good and what bad.

But a most significant and interesting side of this doctrine for us at present is, I think, the fact that Islam recognizes two kinds of revelation, or perhaps better, of inspiration. Besides that just stated, which is strictly the sending of a message to men on the part of Allah through a messenger who is inspired with the message, there is also a private and personal inspiration by which Allah instructs and guides individuals as individuals. This is open to all classes of men and may range from a truth-telling dream to the open unveiling of the mystic, who has reached illumination and union. All men, Islam asserts, have at some time or other in their lives been in contact with the spiritual and unseen world in a dream. In such a dream they have been inspired in a minor, fractional degree. At the other end, the saint who has attained, walks always in the immediate presence of God. He hears his voice; sees him in vision; is constantly being taught, helped and guarded by him. His life moves in an atmosphere of miracle, not now miracles as proofs, but simply graces, χαζισματα, wrought for him by God. Further, this is a stage on the way to being a prophet, a messenger with a message. From the saints the prophets are chosen, and they continue to be saints, walking in the mystical light, even after they have become prophets; they still reach out with intuition and emotion towards Allah, even when they are the announcers of his will and commands.

This is one of the points where Islam clears away much trouble which sane Old Testament exegetes have made for themselves. Thus, in a review by J. L. Johnston of Miss Underhill's "The Mystic Way," in the number for January 1914 of the *Journal of Theological Studies*, ob-

jection is taken to finding mysticism in the Old Testament Scriptures and amongst the Hebrews generally because their mark is prophetic, and the mystic and the prophet should be contrasted. Here, familiarity with the ideas of Islam would, I venture to think, clear away the whole difficulty. Hardly anything could be closer than the comparison of the saints of Islam, the *awliya'u-llah*, "those who are *near* to Allah," to such as Amos with his claim to be in the secret of Yahwé, a partaker of his counsels and an interpreter of them to men. And such a *wali* of Allah was Muhammad in Muslim theory before he became a prophet and was sent with a message.

D. B. MACDONALD.

Hartford, Connecticut.

KUWEIT, ARABIA

NEXT to Busrah, Kuweit is without doubt the most important place in the Persian Gulf to-day. Engineers of the highest rank are discussing whether Kuweit does not offer more advantages than Busrah as the principal seaport for Mesopotamia. It is true that the Shatt-el-Arab on which Busrah is situated is a magnificent waterway, but that waterway has a bar which will not be easy to keep dredged to a depth sufficient for modern large draught steamers, which are essential to economical transport in these days of fierce trade competition. Kuweit is distant from Busrah only one hundred and eight miles, the whole of which distance offers no difficulites to railway engineers. Kuweit also possesses a fine harbour which with the expenditure of a certain amount of money could be made magnificent, with deep water accomodation for any number of steamers. The residents of Kuweit have for the last ten or fifteen years believed that the Baghdad Railway would have Kuweit as its Persian Gulf Terminus, and even now that Busrah has become British, they are just as sure that it is coming here. A few years ago there was quite a land boom in property to the west of the town and extravagant prices were paid for land which it was thought would lie near the site where the railway would enter the city. During the last two years, buying of land in the same direction has been going on steadily until to-day the boundary marks of recently bought property stretch out into the desert for a mile beyond the western borders of Kuweit. On December 4, 1916, a land telegraph line was completed between Kuweit and Busrah, so that now, if we except a temporary field wireless machine that has been in operation for the last few months, Kuweit is for the first time in its history linked up with the rest of the world of rapid intercommunication.

Kuweit, unlike its fellow cities in the Persian Gulf, is a comparatively new city. It has no ruins to show the

traveller, no ancient history to hand down, and, until two or three generations ago, was only a small fishing village. Its very name is a diminutive, the word Kut—in connection with the military operations around Kut-el-Amara—has lately been on the lips of everyone in this part of the world. Kuweit means the little Kut—Kut meaning a village and Kuweit therefore a mere hamlet.

It was under the rule of Sheikh Mubarek that Kuweit first began its forward trend. This fine old Arab chief who died on November 28, 1915, achieved before his death almost a world-wide reputation. The British Government showed its appreciation of his ability by making him first a K. C. I. E. and then a K. C. S. I., this last decoration being conferred upon him in person by Lord Hardinge, the Viceroy of India, when he visited the Persian Gulf in February 1915. Sheikh Mubarek for an untutored Arab was a wonderful man and his grasp of European politics and civilization, although he knew them only at second hand was extraordinary. He was ahead of his time in this country, how much ahead, the future will show. Sheikh Mubarek governed Kuweit with a strong hand and though there was undoubtedly a dash of tyranny in his methods, still there was also more than a fair proportion of justice. He knew everything that was going on and no matter was insignificant in his opinion. His influence extended far out into the desert and he was able to shape the policy of the inland tribes by the sheer force of his personality. In the latter years of his life he leaned more and more towards civilization and the English and it was probably only the force of public opinion, which he could not entirely sway, and which in its conservatism and fanaticism always lagged behind progressive Mubarek, that kept him from being even more pro-English than he was. His final reception and recognition of the Arabian Mission and his friendliness to the members of the Mission in the face of the opposition of many of the leading men of the town are a striking proof of his ability to force his subjects into accepting what he saw was for the material benefit of the community. "Material" benefit only, for religion occupied little place in

Mubarek's life. Men said that he never prayed and that he was an infidel. One of the last improvement schemes in which he was interested and which is now almost completed was a large distilling plant capable of supplying Kuweit, from the sea, with all the drinking water it required, thus doing away with the present dependence upon the Shatt-el-Arab with its problem of long distance transportation. Until some twelve years ago Kuweit was content to drink brackish water which can be had on the spot anywhere for the digging, but under Mubarek a fleet of boats came into being, whose sole office was to sail backwards and forwards to the river seventy miles away for fresh water. This scheme works well except in bad weather when the boats are necessarily storm bound. The next scheme was a steam tank ship, but she cost too much to run, and Kuweit had to go back to its sailing boats. The distilled water plant now being installed is said to be the largest of its kind in the world, having a capacity of 450 tons of water daily.

Although Sheikh Mubarek has been dead a year and his son Jabr rules in his stead, one still misses the strong old face in the Mejliss. His deep set inscrutable eyes, and his habit of looking meditatively out to sea, always set one wondering what was passing in his mind. He is now only a memory and the Arabs in referring to him keep up the Moslem custom by saying "Mubarek, and may the Lord have mercy upon him."

The work with which Mubarek identified himself is still going on and it is quite within the bounds of probability that within a few years all of the prominent chiefs of Arabia will have become friends and will have allied themselves with the march of civilisation. If this takes place, it will be for the first time since the days of the early caliphs that Arabia has been a united country. Only recently, Sheikh Abd-el-Aziz bin Saud, the great Wahabi chief from the Nejd, has visited Kuweit and Busrah as the guest of both the English and the Arab authorities. His visit has doubtless taught him much and when he returns to his desert city of Riadh he will have food for thought for a long time to come. The writer had the pleasure of

spending a day with Bin Saud three years ago, when he was in camp some twenty miles from Kuweit. It was a pleasure to renew the acquaintance and when a few days ago he came to the Mission house to call, accompanied by the Sheikhs of Mohammerah and Kuweit, one felt that the sturdy Moslem of the desert had paid a striking public tribute to the worth of the religion of the "infidels." The three Sheikhs inspected the hospital thoroughly and then came up to the house and drank sherbet and coffee with us, chatting pleasantly for more than half an hour.

It is some five years since the Arabian Mission began steady and continuous work in Kuweit, though the place was visited for periods of a few months to each visit, for some two years earlier. A surgical operation performed by one of our medical men on a leading resident of the town was the direct means of opening the door into Kuweit, that door that for years, if it had opened a little way occasionally, had opened only to be shut in our faces. The early days of the occupation of the place were not easy and though Sheikh Mubarek had sold us land and had given us a thorough welcome, still the people were not behind him in the movement and it was very evident that we were not wanted, though of course there are a few men of position here who have been our friends from the very beginning. In those days when one went out it was a common thing to have stones thrown at one and to be insulted by all and sundry. Our ladies could not appear on the street without experiencing the grossest rudeness and the blackest slave did not hesitate to roar with laughter at the sight of the unveiled white woman. The children had a rhyme which they constantly yelled after the missionaries. It may be roughly translated "The Englishman, the Englishman, the wearer of the hat, He'll die to-night, He'll die to-night, There is no doubt of that." Then there were other cries such as "The English, the English, They don't pray, The chicken is very much better than they," referring to the way the chicken looks upwards when drinking. But, little by little this sort of thing is disappearing, the cries are heard less often, stones are almost never thrown and our ladies can go anywhere

in peace, and this in a city where one of our ladies was struck across the shoulders by a common coolie less than three years ago. The Mission work was begun in a small way, a house was rented for a temporary hospital and the missionaries lived in comfortless Arab houses. Now the Mission has a fine little model hospital of steel and reinforced concrete construction and two comfortable residences. Side by side with the medical work the evangelistic work has grown up. A Bible Shop was opened in Kuweit before its permanent occupation by a missionary and our colporteurs diligently toil among the people day by day. Slowly but surely prejudice and fanaticism are giving way to interest and tolerance. A complete Arabic Bible has been purchased this year by a Sheikh who is a brother of the late Sheikh Mubarek and uncle to the present ruler. Another Sheikh, whose father is a stern devoted Moslem of the old school, who till lately would scarcely acknowledge our salutations, has also bought a Bible and after buying it spent two hours going over with the colporteur the titles and general subject matter of all the books of the Bible. This young man is also from court circles, his father being brother to the present ruler of Kuweit. A complete Persian Bible has been sold to the leading Persian merchant here and New Testaments both in Arabic and Persian to various persons, including one of our school boys. As always, Gospel portions form the bulk of our Scripture sales. There is absolute freedom of speech in the Shop and our men now declare they can say anything they like. There are three kinds of people who visit the Shop, firstly, those who come merely to argue and show off their learning; secondly, those who will talk on any subject except religion which they refuse to discuss; and thirdly, there are those who really come to learn what our religion is. Something like the Parable of the Sower. The arguers are easily in the majority. There are from fifteen to twenty regular frequenters of the Shop, outside of those who come to read the Arabic newspapers and to look at the war pictures in the *Illustrated London News*. The latter average about thirty a day. About two months ago as the Shop was being closed for the night, a Nejdi, an

Arab from the great interior, accosted the colporteur, saying, "Why don't you come to the Nejd and teach us?" Our man replied, "If we come you will kill us." "Yes!" assented the Nejdi, "if you came we should probably kill you." "All right," said our man, "when you have become men instead of wild beasts, we will come." A few days ago another Nejdi came in, he was one of Sheikh Abd-el-Aziz bin Saud's men. Our colporteur asked him, "When will we be allowed to enter the Nejd?" He replied "We have become brothers and whenever the Sheikh gives the formal permission to you to visit us, you are welcome. There is no difference between us since our Sheikhs have called on yours (referring to the recent conference between the Chief British Political Officer of the Persian Gulf and the Sheikhs of Kuweit, Mohammerah, and Nejd). We see that the English Government is clean and straight and quite unlike the Turkish Government with its bribery and corruption." This man came to the Shop more than once and his speech was always along the same lines and obviously sincere. The difference between the attitudes of these two Nejdis is instructive to one who is watching the drift of public opinion. The wolf is becoming the lamb.

Actual preaching is carried on every Sunday afternoon in the open courtyard of a house in the centre of the town. While actual count has not been regularly kept, an average attendance of sixty persons is a fair estimate. The preacher has had an audience of over a hundred on many occasions. The sound of the "baby-organ" finding its way out into the street probably attracts a good many passers-by but on the other hand it is now well known all over the town that Sunday is our day and there is a fair number that attends regularly. The keeping of order is still a great difficulty and there have been Sundays when we have been much disturbed by rowdies who come in with no idea but to make trouble; dirt and stones have even been pitched over the wall from the street into the middle of the congregation. Then, too, as the time of the service corresponds with the dismissal hour of the neighbouring schools we get large numbers of small boys

who are like small boys all the world over, only more so. However, the congregations are steadily getting quieter and less irreverent and we look forward to perfection later on. Meanwhile the poor have the Gospel preached to them. The greater part of the preaching has been done by the colporteurs who take turns in occupying the pulpit. They are all developing under this new responsibility, and though they have their off Sundays with a correspondingly poor sermon, they do very well and hold their trying audiences exceedingly well. Probably too, the very fact that they are known all over the town as those who preach on Sundays gives them a certain standing and prestige among the people which is not without its value. They seem to enjoy preaching; it is certainly no hardship to them.

Out in the desert behind the town are always large numbers of Bedouin living in tents. These have been faithfully worked by one of our men. Last year he could hardly gain admittance to a tent but this year he is welcome everywhere and none has ever said anything objectionable about him or his message, with one unimportant exception. On one occasion he was asked about prayer and so he simply stood up and prayed so that he might show them how Christians pray. They approved his prayer and expressed their surprise at this new demonstration of Christian piety. The tribes in camp this year round Kuweit include the Um Tairis, Ajmans, Owazim, Rashaids and Suleib. The latter, a tribe held in the greatest contempt by all other Arabs because of their reputed Christian origin, have proved to have at least one very interesting custom. On two occasions in connection with circumcision rites, our man has seen in the door of a Sulibi tent, a small cross decorated with brightly coloured ribbons. This custom, they say, has been handed down to them from their forefathers. One theory of the origin of this interesting tribe is that they sprang from those of the followers of the Crusading armies who did not return to Europe.

The Jewish population is growing—they are an undesirable element in the community for they are ignorant

and grasping and withal a dirty lot, but they have not been overlooked by the colporteurs. "Why don't you accept Christ?" they are asked, and they reply "He has not yet come." And then the Old Testament prophecies are dwelt upon and it is pointed out how they foretell (a) His first coming and (b) His second coming. It is insisted upon that He came the first time to save the world and that He will come the second time to take His kingdom and to judge the world. Chapter and verse are turned up as witness to statements made. They are never able to offer adequate explanations of the prophecies which relate to the wonderful birth and death of Christ, though they have dug up something from the Talmud which says that if Christ come of the tribe of Ephraim He will die. They are emphatic on the point that if Christ come of the seed of David He can never die. They all seem to expect the Messiah soon, and curiously enough base one theory on Daniel 12:12. "Blessed is he that waiteth and cometh to the thousand, three hundred and five and thirty days." They say that these 1335 days are the length of the Moslem era, and that the Messiah will come when these days are up, but their reasons for dating the coming of Christ from the Hejira, are obscure and farfetched. In the same connection it may be noted that there are many Moslems in Kuweit who think that we are now in the Last Days whatever they understand by the phrase, while some say that the day of resurrection is at hand, and others again say that the days of Islam are nearly numbered.

The opposition to the work of the Arabian Mission was at first not only general but specialized. An attempt was made to organize a hospital with a Turkish doctor in charge, but the venture after a fitful existence of a few months, died of sheer inanition, and only a few months ago their microscope and surgical instruments were presented by the Sheikh to the Mission hospital. A Moslem school, however, started by the same people who had backed up the hospital venture, met with distinct success. They put up a fine building and placed at the head of the Institution a progressive young Egyptian from

Cairo. A year ago their roll must have exceeded three hundred pupils. But the Egyptian head master was discharged recently on account of his rather modern ideas on geography and science and as a consequence most of the older pupils left the school. Their roll is probably less than two hundred now. It is not likely that the Opposition will have an easy time finding a man who can teach English and at the same be without those modern tendencies, which are Anathema to the strict Moslem of Kuweit, so that on the whole the prospects for a successful Mission school are good were the Mission ready to work this field intensively. The Arabian Mission does indeed do some educational work and the thirty-nine boys who have passed through its small school are well worth the time spent on them, representing as they do the ambitious middle class small trader. Many parents now say that after their children have been grounded in the Koran, in the Opposition school, they want to send them to us. English, of course, is what they want and here is where the Mission school must try to do its best work if it is to fill a demand.

And so as we look back at the results of a few years' labour, we find the whole situation changed and changed in every way for the better and shall we not take courage. Kuweit has a future before it and we pray God that the Arabian Mission may be able to influence public opinion for good in this stronghold of Islam. The danger at these critical periods is infidelity, the danger that as they drift out of Islam they will not find their way into Christianity. They are learning the virtues of civilisation but they are also learning its vices, as for instance drinking, which is already gaining a hold on the young men here. We must never lose sight of the fact that neither steamships nor telegraphs, neither railways nor motor cars can teach people "the life more abundant." We must force upon them the knowledge that a man is not "profited if he gain the whole world and lose his own soul."

C. Stanley. G. Mylrea, M.D.

Kuweit, Persian Gulf.

WOMAN'S PLACE IN ISLAM AND BRITISH LAW

MOSLEM propaganda in England has shown considerable activity during the past four or five years: but since the outbreak of war the activity has become more marked. Influenced by the attractive guise in which it is presented by clever educated Indians, not a few English women of intelligence have declared themselves to be devoted followers of the teaching of Mohammed the prophet of Islam. The Indian teachers who are working strenuously in London and its neighbourhood are members of an idealistic and heretical sect of Moslems known as the Ahmadiya movement; while there are also members of an Indian Sufi order.

If the misguided English women who are attracted by the teaching of these men could realise the degraded condition of the women of Moslem lands, they would surely question the declaration that "Islam exalts womanhood and teaches its devotees to reverence women."

A recent attempt to obtain legal sanction in England for the Moslem laws of divorce is very significant and should put thoughtful people on their guard. This attempt took the form of an appeal in the Divisional Court on the part of an Indian Moslem who had practised as a barrister in London against the refusal of the registrar of marriages in Hammersmith to grant a license enabling the applicant to marry a second wife on the ground that he had divorced his first wife—an English lady—according to Moslem law. The applicant, who conducted his own case, argued that, although his first marriage was carried out in accordance with the English law, the divorce according to Moslem law dissolved it, leaving him free to marry again under English law. The registrar had refused to grant the license on the ground that the Moslem law of divorce was not legal in England.

The Solicitor General pointed out what was involved if the claim of the applicant were allowed. He would be

able to contract a whole series of marriages with English girls. He could marry a girl one day and divorce her the next, and continue the practise without infringing the law. The same law allowed him four wives, so that, if one point were allowed, the whole law would have to be recognised, and he could go to the registrar and demand the issue of four licenses which would enable him to contract four marriages with English ladies at once. Mr. Justice Darling said that the Moslem wife was in every respect the same as a slave.

The applicant pointed out that a woman who married a Moslem became subject to the Moslem law. But the judges argued that the woman, having been married according to English law, could not be recognised by that law as having been divorced by Moslem law. The law of England could not recognise the validity of Moslem law which enabled a man to divorce his wife without previously informing her of his intention. A Moslem woman can be divorced at the will of her husband—she has no right of dispute or legal redress.

The applicant made an eloquent appeal for judgment, pleading that his inability to obtain divorce under English law impelled him to take advantage of Moslem law. He suggested that the court was prejudiced because of his colour; but he was rebuked by the judge who said that it was not a question of colour; but of law.

The judges decided to consider the case and give judgment at a later date.

For many years it has been the British policy to curry favour with Moslems by granting them many privileges which in the case of some colonies have been denied to Christians. The favour of Islam has been cultivated at the cost of a loss of dignity and even prestige. For native races are very apt to attribute a policy of toleration to weakness. We are now suffering for the evil. And this attempt to obtain the sanction of English law for Moslem customs is one of *many* which our legislators will have to face in the future. An adverse decision at a time like this, when India is playing a great part in the war with us, may aggravate the restless spirit of Islam in the land,

so that the judges no doubt will find the matter a delicate one to deal with.

Quite recently a letter came into my hands written by a young girl of good family and education, in London, in which she says she has been much attracted by the religion of Islam through a talk she has had with two Indian Moslem missionaries. She is only seventeen, yet these two gentlemen apparently have spared no time and effort to influence her. She speaks of the reverence and esteem that Islam teaches for woman, and mentions Mohammed's statement that, "Paradise lies at the feet of the mother." This is the kind of work Moslems are doing and by personal work amongst young women and girls are gaining an influence which threatens the happiness of those who yield to its attractiveness. A brief consideration of what Islam really teaches regarding woman may perhaps help to counteract what cannot but be regarded as an evil.

Syed Ameer Ali, a modern champion of Islam, admits that there is much that is deplorable in the religion of Islam concerning woman. And I have seen religious manuals containing traditionary sayings of Mohammed which were uttered for the guidance of Moslems in their relationship with women, which are undeniably filthy.

An old Sheikh, a friend of mine and Imam of a mosque, had divorced four wives and came one day to tell me he was marrying another—a girl of thirteen, he himself being over fifty-five. This girl went to his house, lived with him over three weeks, and was sent back to her father as being of no further use to the Sheikh. This the law of Islam allows him to do. If he finds her unsuitable and returns her within a month she has no claim upon him, and he can still claim to be the holy man, according to Islam, that he is thought to be.

Children of eleven are married to full grown men, which results in unspeakable suffering on the part of these little ones, who will be divorced, because they are ruined beyond the power of childbearing.

If a man divorces his wife in anger—and then regrets the utterance of the fateful words he has uttered, he can-

not claim his wife again until she has been wedded to another man at least one day. A definition accepted by Moslem jurists bears out Mr. Justice Darling's statement that the wife of a Moslem is merely a slave; it declares that "Marriage is a contract by which the husband obtains possession of the wife, and is allowed to enjoy her if there be no legal impediment preventing the same."

Three forms of marriage are tolerated:

1. The legal permanent marriage.
2. Temporary marriage (repudiated by the Sunni Sect).
3. Marriage to a slave.

A man may possess legally four permanent wives and may marry as many slave wives as he can support.

Al-Ghazali, one of the greatest and most learned of the Sufis says: "Marriage is a kind of slavery; for the wife becomes the slave of her husband, and it is her duty absolutely to obey him in everything he requires of her, except in what is contrary to the laws of Islam."

The Koran directly teaches: "If the wife be disobedient and obstinate, the husband has the right to punish her, and to force her to obey him, but he must proceed gradually; exhort, admonish, threaten, abstain from intercourse with her for three days, beat her so as to let her feel its pain, but be careful not to wound her in the face, or make the blood flow abundantly, or break a bone."

The hospitals of Egypt have sheltered many a Moslem woman who has suffered even unto death because of the brutality sanctioned by such teaching. The Moslem missionaries in London claim, too, that Islam provides for the spiritual needs of the woman. This is not so in Egypt, Arabia or the Ottoman Empire. The women are not expected to go to the mosques. The only religious care they receive is through the Christian missionary.

"Paradise lies at the feet of the mother"—what a mockery this beautiful idea becomes when read in the light of Paradise as interpreted in the Koran—a place of gross sensuality and unbridled licence!

H. E. E. Hayes.

At the front in France.

AL-GHAZALI AS SUFI

ACCORDING to Al-Ghazali, religion consists of three parts: Belief, Works or Conduct, and Experience of Spiritualities. The two former make up what may be called formal religion. Each of them is necessary; but even both together are not sufficient to give a man a complete conception of truth, or fit him for the highest joys of the life to come. They do not afford even any reliable guarantee of *salvation*.

Now by *salvation* Al-Ghazali means absolute escape from the fires of hell. All true Moslems will attain to paradise, but most of them will attain to it only after passing for a shorter or a longer period through the fires which, while they are penal, are also purgatorial. Thus "the saved" according to Al-Ghazali, are the few who pass directly into paradise without first entering the fire.

To obtain this salvation far more is necessary than simply to be an orthodox and strict Moslem. It is possible that some may escape hell fire through a special and particular outpouring of the abounding mercy of God, or in virtue of the mediation of others; but such an escape is so problematic that one cannot wisely count upon it.

In holding that the most orthodox faith and the most strict performance of one's religious duties do not afford any guarantee that the believer will escape the torments of hell, Al-Ghazali is true to the convictions and beliefs of the early Moslems. None of them had any assurance that they would be "saved" in this sense of the word. And, in truth, there is no such assurance to be found anywhere in orthodox Moslem teaching. The true believer must simply submit himself to the divine will. If God please, of His grace, to give him entrance into paradise without first causing him to pass through the fires of hell, well and good. It will be a supreme act of grace and mercy. But he must be ever ready, should God will

it, to pass through the fire and there expiate the sins and evils of his earthly life.

Orthodox Islam holds out no "hope of salvation," and can therefore never be a religion of joy and confidence.* Nor does Islam point out to a man how he can overcome his sins and evil self, and thus qualify for direct entrance into heaven, and the enjoyment of the highest happiness of which he is capable.

For a means of such cleansing, Moslems in all times have turned to Sufiism. In the time of Al-Ghazali, and for some time before and after his day, there was more than a tendency to distinguish and contrast Islam and Sufiism. There was, of course, a Sufiism which was non-Islamic, and there appears to have been a strong tendency on the part of Moslem Sufis to break away from formal Islam as soon as they had reached a certain stage in their Sufi life. In all times and in all religions there has been a similar tendency among those who have followed the path of the Mystic.

It must be put to the credit of Al-Ghazali that though he was not the first to realise that there could be a Sufiism which was Moslem as well as a Sufiism which was non-Moslem, he was, so far as we can judge, the principal agent in bringing about the public recognition of this fact. From the time that his books became generally known and his views were accepted, there was no further question of denouncing a man as an unbeliever simply because he was a Sufi; there was even no question of suspecting him solely because he followed the way of the Sufis.

But while Al-Ghazali may thus be said to have gained for Sufiism a recognised place among Moslems, he insisted most strongly that there could be no true Sufiism apart from revealed religion. There must be a historical foundation for belief and for one's knowledge of God's will, and nothing must be permitted or accepted by the Sufi which rang counter to this divine revelation. Sufi-

* It is true that for those who die fighting for the faith, the gates of paradise are said to be opened. And this expectation of immediate entrance into the gardens of delight and escape from the torments of hell fire has been the cause of much of the fanatical courage which has, from the earliest times, characterised Moslem warriors; but this belief is no real part of the faith as a theological system.

ism, he maintains, will never enable a man to dispense with revealed religion, or free him from the duty of performing its prescribed observances. Hell, he says, quoting a reported saying of the prophet, is full of Faqirs, who through wandering away from the truth of revealed religion have made shipwreck of the faith.

The freedom of the soul from all that fetters it and prevents it from rising, is the object of the Seeker; and according to Al-Ghazali one of the first things which a man must seek to understand is the mystery of his own nature. Besides the body and the animal spirit which gives the body life, and which man shares with the brute beasts, man has a spirit or soul which is akin to the divine.* It is this which distinguishes him from the lower animals: it is, in fact, the real man. To understand this is a primary necessity. Further, the seeker must learn the qualities, characteristics, and dispositions of this soul; wherein its nobility consists, and wherein lies the possibility of its defect and ruin. He must know what passions can possess it, what motives can influence it, and how these passions and motives may be purified and controlled. A man's life, then, must be a continual struggle. To begin with, he must have clear ideas and thoughts concerning realities and vanities, so that he may know which are the things that are enduring and which are those that are evanescent and temporary. He must know, in other words, that the world around him is a fleeting show: that there is an unseen world which deserves more truly the name of *real*. He must be able to see the difference between truth and falsehood in speaking: and he must know wherein consists the difference between virtue and vice.

But beyond this struggle to think clearly and judge distinctly and act rightly, there is a further struggle awaiting him, namely, the struggle against the passions within; through victory in this struggle, he achieves continence and temperance, using the latter word in its

* The word *akin* must, however, be taken figuratively, for Al-Ghazali carefully states that when God breathed into man nothing passed out of the divine into the human. Man's soul is not something from God, it is created.

fullest meaning. And even here the contest on which he has entered does not cease; for he has yet to encounter all those sections of the soul which may be summed up under the one word *anger*. Through conquest of these he acquires *gentleness*. But all this, in the life of the Sufi, is but a means to an end, for even such a life of inward struggle and outward watchfulness does not of itself qualify him for the highest happiness of which man is capable.

In the world to come there are degrees and stages—not that one passes from one stage to another after entering therein: but that according as one has prepared and fitted himself in the course of his earthly life, so will he find his happiness in the life to come. The believer's happiness hereafter depends not so much on what he has believed, nor on the strictness with which he has fulfilled his religious duties, but on what he has *been* in himself.

Complete happiness is to be found by each soul in the full satisfaction of those needs and desires, the partial satisfaction of which give him pleasure here on earth. The true believer, who in this world has never advanced beyond the pleasures of the senses, will find his joy and pleasure in the life to come in the complete gratification of the senses; for the fullest and completest happiness of which he will be capable will consist in the full satisfaction of these sensuous desires and appetites.

Similarly, he who finds his chief joy here in intellectual attainments and pleasures, will hereafter find his complete happiness in the full satisfaction of his intellectual longings.

But the man who has advanced beyond these and, having realised that his real self is spiritual (akin to God Himself), has found his chief pleasure on earth in the purification of this spiritual nature, and the freeing of it from the trammels and fetters of this passing world and all its weaknesses and evils, has thereby attained to at least a partial understanding of spiritual attainments whereby he approaches the Deity and becomes like Him.

Such is a short and imperfect statement of Al-Ghazali's doctrine of happiness. Now, according to Al-Ghazali,

the means whereby a man can attain to this spiritual happiness is two-fold. There are, in other words, two paths which lead to true spiritual knowledge—that knowledge of spiritual realities which may be described as experience of them.

One of these paths is study: the other is the path of practice. Some may reach the goal by one path and some by the other. The former path is according to Al-Ghazali, the harder and the longer, and few among men are so gifted with intellectual attainments as to be able to traverse it without falling into one or other of the many pitfalls by which it is beset. Indeed, for most men it leads only to doubt and unbelief.

The other path, that followed by the Sufis, is, he states, the easier path for most men; for it does not depend on intellectual capacities and mental abilities. In itself, it is true, it is also a path of difficulty, and is likewise beset by many a pitfall; yet of the two it is the easier and therefore the more suitable for most men.

We have already said that the highest joy and pleasure of which man, who is a spiritual being, is capable lies in the realisation of spiritual truth—as Al-Ghazali puts it, "the knowing spiritual realities"; and the highest and ultimate goal of this knowledge is God Himself.

To understand what Al-Ghazali means by this we must consider a little more in detail his theory of knowledge, and his conception of existence. Knowledge is various. It may be divided into two main divisions: that which depends ultimately on revelation (*Shar'i* knowledge) and that which depends on reason (*'Aqli* knowledge). It is not necessary for the purpose we have at present in hand to consider the divisions and subdivisions of the former; but it is to be noted that even in the matter of *Shar'i* knowledge reason comes into play. For some of the truths of this department of knowledge are inferences or deductions from the fundamental truths which have been received by divine revelation, that is, from the verbal statements of the Qur'an; while others are the outcome of analogical reasoning based on similarly established beliefs and convictions.

Under the second division (*'Aqli* knowledge) we find (1) Mathematics, Astronomy, Logic, etc. (2) Natural Sciences, and (3) Speculative Knowledge. One of the sub-divisions of this last is Speculative Theology.

Now the knowledge of the Sufis is not solely either *Shar'i* or *'Aqli*, but is a compound knowledge, for it depends on revealed truth and partly on speculation.

For the individual, the two sources of knowledge are (1) Human teaching, and (2) Divine teaching. This latter is of two grades or degrees: Inspiration (*Wahyun*) and Enlightenment (*Ilhám*). Through Inspiration God taught the prophets; but after Mohammed the door of Inspiration was closed. Enlightenment, however, which is the means whereby God teaches the saints (*Al-Awliyá*) persists. In one passage Al-Ghazali defines this Enlightenment (*Ilhám*) as the awakening of the human soul by the Universal Soul in proportion to the purity and degrees of receptivity and preparedness of the former.

Now, every man can know spiritual truth, but every one cannot know it in the same degree, because all have not arrived at the same degree of purity or receptivity or preparedness. Every man is "*alá fitratia*," which may be translated "with right religious feelings and disposition," and therefore has potentially the power of knowing because of the original purity and the original attributes of the soul. But the souls of all men are more or less sick through evil.

We speak of a man's knowing, but it is the soul which knows. Indeed, knowledge is the one thing which the soul desires for itself; all else that the soul seeks or desires, it seeks or desires for the sake of the body with which it is associated in this present life, or, as Al-Ghazali would rather put it, in this present visible world, but from which death releases it.

But after all, we must still ask the question: What is knowledge? To answer this question, Al-Ghazali falls back on figure and metaphor. The soul is like a tablet on which things are written. For the purified soul which has separated itself from all evil, and turned away from the world and all its passing desires, looks

towards its maker and creator alone; and God, in His good providence approaches such a soul completely and gives it a divine look, and takes a pen and engraves on it all His various knowledges, and the Universal Reason becomes the teacher and the sanctified soul becomes the taught, and all knowledge arises in the soul (*yahsulu linnafsi*), and there is engraved on it the picture of everything without learning and without thought.

A more favourite figure with Al-Ghazali, however, is that of the mirror. The human soul is a mirror. It reflects the realities of the spiritual world. On account of its imperfections and on account of the spots and blemishes which mar its originally bright surface, it reflects these imperfectly or even in a distorted fashion.

Thus, knowledge is the image of the soul of the realities which it reflects. And the highest knowledge of the soul and that which alone causes it true joy, is the reflection of God Himself.

What prevents men from knowing God, is not that God is far away or that He hides Himself, but that the mirror which ought to reflect Him is for some one of many reasons unable to give a correct image of Him.

It is impossible in the space at our disposal to say more on this subject here.

But what of this world of realities which the soul reflects more or less clearly? There exist, according to Al-Ghazali, two worlds: the seen and the unseen. Speaking generally, the seen is symbolical of the unseen. All that is apprehended by the senses and the intellect is but a type, as it were, of the unseen—a parabolic representation of something which is more truly deserving of the name of "real," the *haqíqa*, the true being. These types do not necessarily resemble the unseen reality in form or shape or even nature; but they stand to these things as illustrations, and have in themselves such powers and attributes and qualities of action that in a certain sense they represent them.

The Qur'an, so Al-Ghazali says, is full of such symbols, and uses throughout symbolic and figurative language to represent spiritual truths. Such language is employed

because in no other way could man understand the divine relations, and he admits that even at times figurative language is employed with the object of hiding, as though through a veil, the unseen, which man could not understand were it revealed, at least most men, and concerning which he would but argue and contradict had any further revelation of the truth been given.

Man lives as in a dream. Death is the awakening. As one interprets his dream on awakening, and thus learns the reality of the things which were typified by it, so when man awakes at death, he will understand the true reality of those things which were on earth bound by the trammels of the body and the animal life-desires which form part of his composite nature. In this life one can never attain to a full or uninterrupted knowledge of the divine realities.

Now all knowledge of spiritual truth comes from God, and in imparting it God may use means; and with regard to its attainment man stands in one of three grades. There is first potential knowledge. As the infant has the capacity to learn to write, for instance, but cannot yet write, so man, at the outset, has the capacity to know spiritual truth. Following this, there comes the grade in which a boy has a knowledge of the letters and has not attained its maximum. He has not become practiced or skilled. So it may be with man in regard to the truths of the spiritual world. Finally there comes the grade of the skilled clerk which may be compared with the position of the man who is well conversant with spiritual realities. Yet even here in this last grade there are degrees or stages, and according to the degree or stage reached there are to be distinguished the prophets, the saints, the wise, and the learned.

The highest stage is that of the prophet who knows by divine inspiration, without learning or acquiring knowledge.

This knowledge of spiritualities brings one near to God. Now the only way to receive this knowledge—for it comes from God as a gift, and is not, strictly speaking, *acquired*—is to be prepared to receive it by the puri-

fying of the spirit as a mirror must be cleaned and polished if it is to reflect aright the image of what is before it.

This brings us to speak of the obstructions or veils of various kinds which may prevent the light from falling on the mirror of the soul.

It is in the Mishkat al-Anwar, especially in the last section of the book, that we find Al-Ghazali's explanation of these veils which hide the face of God from man.

He divides men into three main classes according to the nature of these veils.

1. The first class includes all those who are veiled by *pure darkness;* and in it we find (1) Professed Atheists, who look upon the world and regard it as all in all: they deny that there is any God and any life to come. (2) The Practical Atheists, who are so concerned with the present life that they never realise that there is anything more, and who thus by their life and deeds, though not in word, deny the existence of God and the life hereafter. This second subdivision may be distinguished as (a) Sensualists, (b) Worshippers of Power and Brute Force, (c) Mammon Worshippers, (d) Worshippers of Fame and Glory.*

All in this first class, whether belonging to one subdivision or the other, are veiled by pure darkness because they have no conception of the existence of a spiritual world at all. No ray of spiritual light has reached them. Many of them (it must be of the second subdivision) may indeed be professing Moslems, who say "There is no God but God," but who make such a profession from false motives and incentives such as fear of the authorities, or pressure of public opinion, or even mere fanatical adherence to the faith of their fathers.

It is most interesting and instructive to note that Al-Ghazali here admits that outward profession of Islam without inward spiritual knowledge puts one no higher than this first division of those who are veiled by pure darkness.

2. The second class are those who are veiled by light and darkness mixed. In this class are included all who

* In this classification the word *worshipper* is used figuratively.

have some conception of the existence of God and of a spiritual world, however imperfect or mistaken this conception may be, as well as all those who, while they have accepted the revelation of the Qur'an have for various reasons gone astray in their theology. Thus we find in the first division of this class all who have taken as the object of their worship some object of Sense, and they may be subdivided into (a) Worshippers of inanimate objects of beauty (image worshippers, for instance), (b) Worshippers of animate objects of beauty, be they human beings, animals or trees, (c) Fire-worshippers, (d) Star and Planet Worshippers, (e) Sun Worshippers, (f) Light Worshippers, among them are to be included Dualists.

The second division of this class includes all who are veiled by light mixed with darkness arising from Imagination. Al-Ghazali probably intends by such all who because they cannot conceive or imagine anything wholly different from the outward forms and shapes of material objects or anything wholly dissociated from the circumstances and relations and accidents with which material objects are always associated, have therefore held views of the deity which are tinged by these preconceptions.

Here we find (a) The Anthropomorphists (*Mujassima*) (b) The various sects of the *Karramiyya* or of those who deny all accidents to the Deity except "*jihat fawq.*"

All these are unable to conceive of a Deity whom they cannot present to their imagination. He must have some form or shape, or at least have some relation which can be defined only in terms of form and shape. Their conception of God cannot therefore be purely spiritual. They are thus misled by their imagination.

The third division of this class includes all those who while they accept the revelation of the Qur'an, and its teachings, fall into error through some false inference or deduction of the intellect. Here come in all those who not being able to understand that the attributes of God may be described by words which cannot be taken (when used in speaking of the Deity) in the exact sense in which they are used when speaking of man, fall into the

error of limiting the attributes of God by the corresponding attributes of man.

3. The third class are those who are veiled by Light alone.

This class includes all who have found themselves from all anthropomorphic conceptions of the deity and have understood truly the *spirituality* of God, and who have understood further that in describing or defining the attributes of the Deity we employ such terms as *speech, will, power*, etc., in a different sense from that which the words have when used to describe the attributes and powers of human nature, but who from the very glory of the light itself are unable to comprehend the true relation of the First Cause to the World which He has created.

(a) The first subdivision of this class includes those who hold that God directly moves the heavens (spheres).

(b) The second subdivision includes those who have advanced beyond this and have recognised that the spheres being many the One God cannot be the Mover of all; for this would be to deny the Unity of God in Action. They therefore understand that each sphere must have its own Mover (or Angel), and that there is an outer sphere containing all the others, and that God is the Mover of this outer sphere, and that he does this at the command of God *Al-Muta.*' God is therefore the Mover of all, not directly, but by way of Command. This supreme Angel stands to God in the relation in which the moon stands to the sun.

All these are veiled by pure light alone.

4. A fourth class, *Al-Wásilún* (those who have attained) are alone unveiled. It has been revealed to them in addition to all the foregoing that to the *Obeyed One* (*Al-Muta.*') there has been attributed even by those in the preceding subdivision something irreconcilible with Absolute Unity and Complete Perfection. (But Al-Ghazali most tantalisingly adds that the explanation of how their position involves this is a secret mystery which cannot be divulged in this book.) They therefore, recognise that this *Muta*' is not God, but stands in a relation to God (*Al-Wujúd al-Haqq*) similar to that of the sun to Absolute Light or of the glowing coal to the Pure Essential fire.

The *Wasilún*, therefore, turn away from the Mover of the outer sphere, and from him who commands it to be moved (*Al-Muta'*) and reach out to a Being who transcends all that is to be apprehended by the perception or by the conception of those who look for Him; for they have found Him to be transcendent, separated from all the Beings and spheres and all else that has been previously inscribed.

God, then, is not the immediate Agent either in creation or in the providential government and direction of the universe. He does not even give the word of Command whereby the world is created and ruled. What He is and how He acts man cannot know, but that He is and that He acts man can realise through experience.

It is only, according to Al-Ghazali, when this absolute transcendence of God is realised that the true spirituality of the Deity is conserved.

Thus it is not enough to remove from the mirror of the soul all its blemishes and imperfections. However pure and clean the soul of man may become, a man cannot attain to a true realisation of God so long as he endeavors to *conceive* what the nature of God is for in such a case he will still be held down by the bonds and fetters of *imagination*, which is quite unable to free itself from the ideas associated with form and shape and space and the various relations which these imply. Imagination cannot reach God.

Nor can the *intellect* grasp Him; and every attempt to say What or Who God is in His nature and being must be avoided: for to employ words to describe or define Him only leads to misconception, seeing that these words, however carefully one may define their use, necessarily retain something of the meaning which they have when they are used to denote human powers and attributes, seeing that from their very essence, being human speech, they describe the relations and powers of embodied men.

Even the desire after spiritualities in preference to the vanities of this world must be avoided. To bring out this point Al-Ghazali employs the illustration of the position of the lover in the presence of his beloved. The

lover who in the presence of the object of his affection compares his experiences with the lesser joys and pleasures of life, is not for the moment whole-hearted in his devotion. The true lover, when in the presence of his beloved, knows nought else. His whole being is absorbed by the object of his affection; and, for the moment, nought else for him exists. His every thought and feeling and emotion must be so absorbed by the beloved that he is indifferent—unconscious indeed—whether ought else exists. He must even lose consciousness of his very joy; lose himself, in fact, in his beloved. Similarly, the seeker after God must lose himself in God; he must not even be conscious of the greatness of his desire after God, for that would mean that he is comparing this desire with other desires and realising that this is greater than these. He must be solely receptive, not desirous, and then God Himself will do all, and the seeker will experience—"taste" is Al-Ghazali's word—the blessedness of beholding God, a blessedness which cannot be described for no words or figure of speech can truly express it: it is a mystic union of spirit with Spirit which, however, according to Al-Ghazali, must not be described as oneness. The seeker loses, as it were, his consciousness of self as apart from God, yet never comes to that state which some falsely or mistakenly claim to have reached and which they describe as finding consciousness in God. The seeker who thus claims, "tastes and sees that God is good," yet knows not that he tastes and sees—knows not even while he tastes and sees that it is he who enjoys this experience. Thus all sense of a Personal God is lost.

Through such experiences, fleeting and intermittent here on earth, the soul, according to Al-Ghazali, is prepared for the absolute and ultimate joy of the continuous and unending experience which is spoken of as beholding the Face of God.

Islam shows a man how to walk with acceptance before God here on earth; Sufiism teaches him how to enjoy God hereafter.

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JESUS CHRIST IN THE IHYA OF AL-GHAZALI

In dealing with Moslems, a strong argument for the value and authority of the Gospel may be based on the use made of it by Al-Ghazali in his great work, "The Revival of Religious Sciences" (*Ihya 'Ulum id Din*). What version of the Gospel story he had read is uncertain, but I have collated the many passages that refer to our Saviour Jesus Christ in the work mentioned, and the result leaves little doubt that at least *Matthew's* Gospel was familiar to Moslems in the eleventh century and that the greatest Moslem theologian quotes from it without anywhere asserting that the text has been corrupted or that the record is unreliable.

In the *Ihya* we find the following incidents real or apocryphal regarding the life of Christ on earth as a prophet and saint. We begin with Ghazali's witness to His sinlessness: "It is said that the devil (may God curse him!) appeared to Jesus and said, 'Say there is no god but God.' He replied: 'The word is true, but I will not repeat it after you.'" (Vol. III, p. 23.*) Again: "It is related that when Jesus was born the devils came to Satan and said: 'All the idols have fallen on their faces.' He said: 'This has happened on your account.' Then he flew until he reached the region of the earth, there he found Jesus had been born and the angels were protecting Him. So he returned to the devils and said to them: 'Truly a Prophet was born yesterday. No woman has ever given birth before to a child when I was not present, except in this case.' And that is why men now despair of worshipping idols." (Vol. III, p. 26.)

"It is related that Jesus one day was pillowing His head on a stone; then the devil passed by and said: 'O Jesus, now you have shown your love for the world!' Then Jesus picked up the stone, threw it at him and said:

*All the references are to the four volume edition published in Cairo, 1326 A. H.

'Take it, and the world.'" (Vol. III, p. 26.) We find this reference to the days of His youth in Nazareth: "Someone said to Jesus: 'Who gave you your education?' He replied: 'No one. But I saw the ignorance of the foolish despicable and so I departed from it.'" "Jesus the Prophet was of those who were specially favoured. Among the proofs of it is this, that He called down peace upon Himself, for He said: 'Peace be on me the day I was born and the day I shall die and the day I shall be raised up alive.' And this was because of His peace of mind and His loving-kindness toward men. But as for John, the son of Zachariah, (on him be peace) he took the place of awe and fear toward God and did not utter these words until after they were repeated to him by his Creator who said: 'Peace be upon him the day he was born and the day he died and the day he was raised again.'" This is an interesting critical comment on the two passages referred to which occur in the same chapter of the Koran, and I have never seen them used elsewhere as an argument for the superiority of Christ to John. (Vol. IV, p. 245.)

Al-Ghazali gives Jesus the usual titles given Him in the Koran, namely, Son of Mary, Spirit of God, Word of God, Prophet and Apostle. But these latter titles mean little because he endorses the strange Moslem theory that there have been no less than 124,000 prophets since the world began. In his book *Al-Iqtasad* he devotes a long argument to prove to the Jews that Jesus was indeed a prophet, basing it upon His teaching and miracles. (Pp. 83–86.) In his *Jawahir Ul-Koran* he even classes Mary the Virgin with the prophets and gives the list of these worthies in the following curious order: Adam, Noah, Abraham, Moses, Aaron, Zachariah, John, Jesus, Mary, David, Solomon, Joshua, Lot, Idris, Khudra, Shueib, Elijah, and Mohammed!

Regarding the fasting of our Lord, Ghazali says: "It is related that Jesus (on him be peace) remained for sixty days without eating, engaged in prayer; then he began to think of bread and behold a loaf of bread appeared between his hands: Then he sat weeping because he had

forgotten his prayers. And behold an old man came to him and Jesus said: 'God bless you, O Servant of God, call upon God Most High for I too was in a sad condition and I thought of bread until my prayer departed.' Then the old man prayed: 'O God, if thou knowest any occasion when the thought of bread entered my head when I was praying, do not forgive me!' Then he said to Jesus: 'When anything is brought to me to eat, I eat it without even thinking what it is.'" (Vol. III, p. 61.) The following story seems to be based on the injunction of the Gospel "to pluck out the eye" that offends: "It is related of Jesus (on him be peace) that he once went out to pray for rain and when the people gathered together Jesus said to them, 'Whosoever of you hath committed a sin let him turn back,' so they all turned away and there was no one left in the cave with him save one. And Jesus said unto him, 'Have you any sin,' he replied: 'By God, I do not know of any except that one day when I was praying a woman passed by me and I looked upon her with this eye and when she had passed I put my finger in my eye and plucked it out and followed her to ask her pardon.' Then Jesus said to him, 'Call upon God that I may believe in your sincerity.' Then the man prayed and the heavens were covered with clouds and the rain poured down." (Vol. II, p. 217.)

The following stories are related of the miracle-working Christ: "Said the disciples to Jesus: 'How can you walk on the water while we are unable?' He replied: 'What do you think of the dinar-piece (money)?' They said: 'We think it is good.' He said: 'But as for me, I value it and ashes the same.'" (Vol. III, p. 161.) "It was said to the Prophet that Jesus (upon him be peace) used to walk upon the water. He replied: 'Had he still more striven after holiness, he would have walked on the air.'" (Vol. IV, p. 71.) "It is related that a certain robber waylaid travellers among the children of Israel for forty years. Jesus passed by that way and behind him walked a saint of the worshippers of the people of Israel, one of his disciples. Said the robber to himself: 'This is the Prophet of God who passes by and with him one of his disciples.

If I should come down I would be the third.'" He then goes on to say that the robber tried to show his humility by following not Christ but the disciple. Jesus rebukes them both because of their sins. (Vol. IV, p. 110.) "It is related that Jesus (on him be peace) passed by a blind man who was a leper and lame of both feet because of paralysis and his flesh was consumed by leprosy, and he was saying: 'Praise be to God who has kept me in good health and saved me from many things which have befallen others of his creatures.' Then Jesus said to him: 'O thou friend, from what kind of affliction do I see that you are free'; and he replied: 'O spirit of God, I am better than those in whose heart God has not put anything of his knowledge and his grace.' And Jesus said: 'You have spoken truly. Stretch forth your hand,' and he stretched forth his hand and became of perfect health both as to his body and his appearance, for God had taken away all his sickness. So he accompanied Jesus and worshipped with him." (Vol. IV, p. 250.)

Ghazali often pictures the power of Jesus to heal the sick, for Christ as the Merciful One appeals to Moslems always and everywhere.

Many of the miracles, however, are puerile, as in this story: "A certain man accompanied Jesus the Son of Mary (upon him be peace) and said: 'I would like to be with you as your companion.' So they departed and arrived at the bank of a river and sat down and took their meal. Now they had three loaves so they ate two and one remained. When Jesus arose and went to the river to drink and returned he did not find the remaining loaf. So he said to the man: 'Who took the loaf?' He replied: 'I know not.' So he departed with his companion and saw a gazelle with her two young, and Jesus called one of them and it came to him and he killed it and prepared it and they ate together. Then he said to the young gazelle: 'Get up by God's will,' and it arose and departed. Then he turned to the man and said: 'I ask you in the name of Him who worked the miracle before your eyes, who took the loaf?' He answered: 'I know not.' So they departed to a cave and Jesus (upon whom be peace) began

to collect the pebbles on the sand and said: 'Become bread by God's permission!' and they became bread; then he divided them into three parts and said: 'A third is for me, a third is for you and a third is for the man who took the loaf,' and the man said: 'I am he who took the loaf.' Jesus replied: 'Take all of it and depart from me.'" (Vol. III, p. 188.) This story is related by Ghazali in his chapter on greed and covetousness to show that he who loves this world cannot be a companion of the saints!

That Jesus was gentle in word and conduct seems to be the lesson taught in the following two stories: "It is related of Jesus that once a pig passed by him and he said to it: 'Go in peace.' They said to him: 'O spirit of God, why do you say this to a pig.' He replied: 'I dislike to accustom my tongue to use any evil words.'" (Vol. III, p. 87.) "It is related that Jesus with his disciples once passed the carcase of a dog. Said the disciples: 'How noisome is the smell of this dog.' Said Jesus: (on him be peace) 'How beautiful is the shine of his white teeth,' as if he wanted to rebuke them for abusing the dog and to warn them not to mention anything of what God has created save at its best." (Vol. III, p. 100.) This incident is given by Jalal-ud-Din in poetic form:

One evening Jesus lingered in the market-place,
Teaching the people parables of truth and grace,
When in the square remote a crowd was seen to rise
And stop with loathing gestures and abhorring cries.
The Master and His meek disciples went to see
What cause for this commotion and disgust could be,
And found a poor dead dog beside the gutter laid:
Revolting sight! at which each face its hate betrayed.
One held his nose, one shut his eyes, one turned away.
And all among themselves began aloud to say,
"Detested creature! he pollutes the earth and air!"
"His eyes are blear!" "His ears are foul!" "His ribs are bare!"
"In his torn hide there's not a decent shoe-string left!"
"No doubt the execrable cur was hung for theft!"
Then Jesus spake and dropped on him this saving wreath:
"Even pearls are dark before the whiteness of his teeth!"

We add the following quotations which set forth the poverty, humility and homelessness of the Christ: In his "Precious Pearl" there is this strange story told about

the poverty and humility of Christ: "Consider Jesus Christ for it is related of him that he owned nothing save one garment of wool which he wore for twenty years and that he took nothing with him on all his wanderings save a cruse and a rosary and a comb. One day he saw a man drinking from a stream with his hands so he cast away the cruse and did not use it again. He saw another man combing his beard with his fingers so he threw away his comb and did not use it again. And Jesus was accustomed to say, 'My steed is my legs, and my houses are the caves of the earth, and my food are its vegetables, and my drink is from its rivers, and my dwelling place among the sons of Adam!'" In another connection he writes: "It was said to Jesus: 'If you would take possession of a house and live there it would be better for you,' and he said: 'Where are the houses of those who lived before us?'" (Vol. III, p. 140.)

A story is related (Vol. IV, p. 326) to show that Christ knew what was in the hearts of men and could change their purposes by prayer to God. In this case he makes an old man cease from his work of cleaning the ground, go to sleep and afterwards return to his work.

Another story is as follows: "It is related that Jesus (upon him be peace) in his wanderings passed by a man asleep, wrapped up in his garment. So he wakened him and said: 'O thou that sleepest! arise and make mention of God.' He replied: 'What do you want from me. I have forsaken the world to its own.' Jesus replied: 'Sleep on then my beloved.'" (Vol. IV, p. 140.) "It is related concerning Jesus that he sat in the shade of a wall of a certain man who saw him and made him get up, but he replied: 'You have not made me arise but verily God made me arise. He does not wish me to delight in the shade by day.'" (Vol. IV, p. 163.) The least of life's pleasures is not for the ascetic saint.

"Said John to Jesus (on them be peace) 'Do not be angry.' Jesus replied: 'I am not able to cease from anger altogether for I am human.' Then said John: 'Do not desire property.' Jesus replied: 'That is possible.'" (Vol. III, p. 114.)

He quotes the following prayer of Jesus (Vol. I, p. 222): "Jesus was accustomed to say to God, 'O God, I have arisen from my sleep and am not able to ward off that which I hate and am not able to possess the benefit of that which I desire and the matter rests in hands other than mine. And I have pledged myself to my work and there is no man so poor as I am. O God, let not my enemies rejoice over me and let not my friends deal ill with me, and let not my afflictions come to me in matter of my religion. And do not allow the world to occupy my care, and do not allow the unmerciful to overcome me, O Thou Eternal!' "

"It is related concerning Jesus (on him be peace) that God spoke to him saying: 'Though you serve me with the worship of the people of heaven and earth and do not have love toward God in your heart but hatred toward Him it will not enrich you at all.' " (Vol. II, p. 210.) "God Most High said to Jesus (on him be peace) 'Verily when I look upon the secret thoughts of my servant and do not find in them love either for this world or the world to come I fill him with my own love and I put him in my safe-keeping.' " (Vol. IV, p. 258.)

Regarding the *teaching* of Jesus we find the following passages in the *Ihya.* I have indicated the parallel passages in the New Testament where possible. Many of them are taken from the Gospel according to Matthew, especially from the Sermon on the Mount. These are given first and then the apocryphal sayings for it is difficult to follow any logical order.

"Said Jesus: 'If a man come to you when he is fasting let him anoint his head and wipe his lips that men may not say he is fasting; and if he gives alms with his right hand let not his left hand know; and if he prays let him put a curtain over his door, for verily God divines his trouble even as He does our daily food.' " (Vol. III, p. 203.*)

"Said Jesus (upon whom be peace) 'Whosoever shall do and teach shall be called great in the Kingdom of

*The same story is repeated in Vol. III, p. 206, see Matt. 6: 16–18).

heaven.' " (Vol. I, p. 6. See Matt. 5: 19.) "Said Jesus, 'Do not hang pearls on the necks of swine; for wisdom is better than pearls.' " (Vol. I, p. 43. See Matt. 7: 6.) "Said Jesus, 'How long will ye describe the right road to those who are going astray and ye yourselves remain with those who are perplexed?' " (Vol. I, p. 44. See Matt. 23: 13.)

"Said Jesus, 'The teachers of evil are like a big stone which has fallen on the mouth of a well so that the water can not reach the sown fields.' " (Vol. I, p. 45. See Matt. 23: 13.)

"Said Jesus, 'How can that man belong to the people of wisdom who from the beginning of his life until the end looks only after the things of the world.' " (Vol. I, p. 46. See Matt. 6: 33.)

Again he makes God address Jesus as follows: "O Son of Mary, preach to yourself for if you preach to yourself you will be able to preach to man and if not fear him.' " (Vol. I, p. 47.)

"Said Jesus (on him be peace) 'Blessed are those who humble themselves in this world for they shall be the possessors of thrones on the day of judgment. Blessed are those who make peace between men in this world for they shall inherit Paradise on the day of resurrection. Blessed are they who are poor in this world for they shall behold God Most High on the day of resurrection.' " (Vol. III, p. 237. See Matt. 5: 3–6.)

"Someone said to Jesus: 'Let me go with you on your wanderings.' He replied: 'Dispose of all that you have and follow me.' " (Vol. IV, p. 170. See Matt. 19: 21.)

"Said Jesus (on him be peace) 'It has been told of ancient times: a tooth for a tooth and a nose for a nose; but I say unto you, do not resist evil for evil but whosoever strikes you on the right cheek, turn to him the left also; and whosoever taketh away your cloak give him your inner garment also; and whosoever desireth you to go with him a mile, go with him twain.' " (Vol. IV, p. 52. See Matt. 5: 30–41.) Who can doubt that these verses are direct and verbal quotations from some translation of the Sermon on the Mount?

"Said the disciples to Jesus (on him be peace) 'Behold this mosque how beautiful it is.' He replied: 'O my nation! O my nation! In truth I say unto you, God will not suffer a stone to remain upon a stone in it but he will destroy it because of the sins of its people. Truly, God does not care for gold and silver nor does he care for these stones at which ye marvel; but the things which God loves most are pure hearts. With them God can build up the earth, and if they are not good they are wasted. (*Ihya*, Vol. III, 288. See Matt. 24: 2.)

"Said Jesus: 'Do not take the world for your master for she will make you her slave. Lay up your treasures with him who will not lose them. For he who lays up treasures in the earth fears that which will destroy them; but he who has treasures with God does not fear for anything that may injure them. And Jesus said also: 'O company of the Apostles, behold I have poured out the world upon the ground, therefore do not take hold of it again after me, for the evil of this world is that men disobey God in it. And the evil of the world also is that the other world cannot be obtained without abandoning the present. Therefore pass through the world but do not build in it. Know that the root of all sin is the love of the world and perchance the desire of an hour will cause those who follow it to lose the other world altogether. He also said: 'I have cast the world before you and ye have sat upon its back, do not therefore suffer kings or women to dispute its possession with you. As for kings, do not dispute with them for its possession, for they will not give it back to you; and as for women, guard yourselves against them by prayer and fasting. (Vol. III, p. 139. See Matt. 6: 19.) "Said Jesus: 'The love of this world and of the world to come cannot abide in the same heart even as water and fire cannot abide in one vessel.'" (Vol. III, p. 140.)

"Said Jesus (on him be peace) 'O ye teachers of wickedness! Ye fast and pray and give alms and do not what ye command others and ye teach that which ye do not understand. How evil is that which ye do. Ye repent only with words but your deeds are without value. In

vain do ye purify your skins while your hearts are covered with evil. I say unto you be not as the sieve from which the good flour passes out and all that remains in it are the siftings. Thus ye make the truth to pass out of your mouths but deceit remains in your hearts, O servants of the world! How can anyone understand the other world while his desires cling to this. Of a truth I say unto you that your hearts shall weep because of your deeds. Ye have put the world upon your tongues and trampled upon good deeds. Of a truth I say unto you ye have corrupted your future life for ye are more in love with the good things of this world than of the good things of the world to come. Which of the children of men suffers greater loss than ye do, if only ye knew it! Woe be to you! How long will ye describe the right way to those who are in darkness and ye yourselves remain in the place of doubt. It is as if ye invite the children of the world to forsake its pleasure in order to leave it for yourselves a little while. Woe be to you! What benefit is it to the darkened house if the candle be put on its roof while the rooms of the house remain in darkness. In the same way ye will not be enriched if the light of knowledge is on your lips, while your hearts remain in darkness. O ye servants of the world! what of your righteousness or your freedom. Perchance the world will pluck you up by the roots and cast you upon your faces and drag you in the dust. It will expose your sins upon your foreheads then it will drive you before it until you are delivered up to the angel of judgment, every one of you naked. Then shall ye be punished for your evil deeds.' " (Vol. III, 183. See Matt. 23: 1–27.)

"Said Jesus (on him be peace) 'Do not be anxious about the food of to-morrow, for perhaps to-morrow will be your time of death.' " (Vol. IV, p. 330. See Matt. 6: 25.)

"Said Jesus (on him be peace) 'Behold the bird, it does not sow nor reap nor lay up store and God Most High provides for it.' " (Vol. IV, p. 190. See Matt. 6: 26.)

"Said Jesus (on him be peace) 'He is not wise who does not rejoice when he enters upon trials and sicknesses of

the body and loss of his possessions; for in it he may find atonement for his sins.'" (Vol. IV, p. 205. See Matt. 5: 10.)

"It is related of Jesus that he said: 'If you see a young man passionately fond of prayer to God you will know that he has escaped all temptations.'" (Vol. IV, p. 221. See Matt. 26: 41.) I think the reference may be to Christ's words in the Garden of Gethsemane.

"Said Jesus (on him be peace) 'Serve God by hating the people who transgress, and draw near to God by departing far from them. Seek the good will of God by hating them.' They said to him: 'O spirit of God, with whom then shall we keep company?' He answered them: 'Keep company with those who make you remember God and those whose words improve your conduct and those whose example makes you earnest for the world to come.'" (Vol. II, p. 110. See I John 2: 15–17.)

"It is related of Jesus (on him be peace) that he said to the children of Israel: 'Where does that which ye sow grow?' they replied: 'In the good ground,' and he said: 'Verily I say unto you, wisdom does not grow except in the heart which is good soil.'" (Vol. IV, p. 256. See Matt. 13: 1–9.)

"Said Jesus (on him be peace) 'Truly the harvest does not grow on the mountain but in the plain. Thus wisdom works in the heart of those that are humble and not in the heart of the proud.'" (Vol. III, p. 240. See Matt. 13: 23.)

"Said Jesus (on him be peace) 'Fine garments make proud looks.'" (Vol. III, p. 247.)

"Said Jesus (on him be peace) 'What ails you that ye come in the garments of monks and your hearts are the hearts of ravening wolves? Wear the garments of monks if you wish but humble your hearts with godly fear.'" (Vol. III, p. 247. See Matt. 7: 15.)

"Said Jesus (on him be peace) 'O company of disciples, call upon God Most High that he may make light for you this terror, namely death. For I fear death in such a fashion that I stand afraid of the same.'" Is it possible that Al-Ghazali here refers to the agony in Gethsemane?

The chapter in which this passage occurs is entitled "The Terrors of Death." (Vol. IV, p. 324. See Matt. 26:38.)

We now give other "sayings" of Jesus, as Ghazali himself does, in somewhat confused order. Altho not quotations or even misquotations from the Gospels, they are of interest as completing the list and also because they show what Ghazali and other Moslems thought *was* the teaching of Jesus the Prophet.

"Said Jesus (on him be peace), How many a sound body and beautiful face and eloquent tongue will to-morrow cry out in the fires of hell!'" (Vol. IV, p. 383.)

"Said Jesus, 'Which of you can build a house upon the waves of the sea? Such is the world; therefore do not take it as an abiding place.'" (Vol. III, p. 141.)

"They said to Jesus, 'Teach us the secret of the love of God,' he replied: 'Hate the world and God will love you.'" (Vol. III, p. 141.)

"Said Jesus, 'O my disciples, be satisfied with the least of the world as long as your religion is at peace even as the people of the world are satisfied with the least of religion and their possessions are at peace.'" (Vol. III, p. 142.)

"Said Jesus, 'O thou who seekest the world for the sake of pure gold, the forsaking of the world is greater treasure.'" (Vol. III, p. 142.)

"They asked Jesus (on him be peace) 'which is the best of good works? He replied: 'To accept whatever God does with pleasure and to love him.'" (Vol. IV, p. 258.)

"Said Jesus the Son of Mary (on him be peace) 'Woe to the lover of this world, how soon he shall die and leave it and all that is in it. The world deceives him and he trusts it and has confidence in it etc.'" (Vol. III, p. 141.)

"Said Jesus (on him be peace) 'Mortify your bodies that your soul may see your Lord.'" (Vol. III, p. 56.)

"Said Jesus (on him be peace) 'The likeness of him who teaches good works and does not do them is that of a woman who commits adultery in secret and then the result of her crime becomes evident to all around her from her condition.'" (Vol. I, p. 48.)

"Said Jesus (on him be peace) 'Whosoever turns away a beggar from His house the angels will not visit that dwelling for seven days.'" (Vol. II, p. 162.) This saying is often quoted by Moslems to-day. They all believe Jesus was the friend of the poor and needy.

"Said Jesus (upon him be peace) 'Blessed is he to whom God has taught his book; he will not die a proud oppressor.'" (Vol. III, p. 235.)

"Said Jesus (on him be peace) 'Blessed is the eye which sleeps and does not regard transgression but is wide-awake for that which is not sinful.'" (Vol. IV, p. 260.)

"The disciples said to Jesus (on him be peace) 'What is the best of good works?' He replied: 'That which is done to God and in which you seek the praise of no one else.'" (Vol. IV, p. 273.)

"Said the disciples of Jesus the son of Mary: 'O Spirit of God! Is there any one on earth like thee?' He replied: 'Yes. For whosoever is girded with the remembrance of God and is silent because of this and who looks only for the favor of God, he is like me.'" (Vol. IV, p. 305.)

"Said Jesus, 'Beware of the evil look for when it is in the heart it produces lust and evil desire.'" (Vol. IV, p. 74.)

"Said Jesus (on him be peace) 'Whosoever multiplies lies his beauty departs from him; and whosoever increases care his body becomes ill; and whosoever has a bad character punishes himself.'" (Vol. III, p. 85.)

"Said Jesus: 'The greatest sin with God is that his servant should say, 'God knows,' concerning something which he knows is untrue, or that he tell lies concerning what he has seen in his dreams.'" (Vol. III, p. 98.)

"Said Jesus (on him be peace) to his disciples 'How would you act if you saw one of your brothers sleeping and the wind had taken off his garment?' They said: 'We would cover him.' Said Jesus: 'No. But you would expose him.' They said: 'God forbid. Who would do such a thing?' He replied: 'When one of you hears a word against his brother he exaggerates it and spreads the report to others.' (Vol. II, p. 142.)

"It is related that Jesus (upon him be peace) said, 'O company of disciples ye are free of transgression, but we the company of apostles are free of infidelity.' " (Vol. IV, p. 124.)

"Said Jesus (on him be peace) 'With difficulty will the rich man enter paradise.' " (Vol. IV, p. 140. See Christ's saying.)

"Said Jesus (on him be peace) 'Truly I do not love a fixed dwelling-place and I dislike the pleasure of the world.' " (Vol. IV, p. 140.)

"Said Jesus (on him be peace) 'Do not look upon the property of the people of this world for its glory is as nothing in the light of your faith.' " (Vol. IV, p. 144.)

"It was said to Jesus: 'If you will allow us we will build a house and worship God in it.' He replied: 'Go and build a house upon the sea.' They said: 'How can we build upon such a foundation.' He replied 'How can your worship exist together with your love of the world?' " (Vol. IV, p. 158.)

"It is related that Jesus said: 'Four things do not come to us except with difficulty. Silence, which is the first principle of worship, humility, the abundant remembrance of God and poverty in all things.' " (Vol. IV, p. 159.)

"Said Jesus (on him be peace) 'Verily I say unto you, whosoever seeketh heaven let him eat barley bread and sleep on the dunghill with the dogs. This is enough for me.' " (Vol. IV, p. 164.)

"Jesus was accustomed to say, 'O children of Israel, let the water of the brook suffice you and the vegetable of the field and the barley loaf; and beware of the white loaf for it will keep you from worship.' " (Vol. IV, p. 164.)

"Said Jesus (on him be peace) 'My food is hunger; all my thoughts are fear of God; my dress is wool; my warming-place in winter is the rays of the sun; my candle is the moon; my steed is my legs; my food is fruit that springs from the ground; I go to bed and have nothing and arise without anything, and yet there is no one richer than I am.' " (Vol. IV, p. 146.)

"Said Jesus (upon him be peace), 'The world is a bridge, therefore cross over it and do not build on it.' " (Vol. III, p. 149.)

"Said Jesus (on him be peace), 'Whosoever seeks the world is like him who drinks water from the salt sea. The more he drinks the more he thirsts.' " (Vol. III, p. 149.)

"It is related in the gospels that whosoever shall ask for forgiveness of him who praises him, has driven away the devil." (Vol. III, p. 127.)

Here ends our series of quotations from the *Ihya;* the reader can draw his own conclusions. One thing is certain: Undoubtedly Ghazali's many references to Gospel narrative did much to leaven Arabian and Persian thought and gave Jesus of Nazareth a much larger place in later mysticism, especially in that foremost mystical poet, the immortal author of the *Masnavi*, Jalal-ud-Din ar-Rumi. He draws the great lesson from the life of Christ which Ghazali only hints at in his quotations; namely that Jesus is the true Life-giver:

"Thyself reckon dead, and then thou shalt fly
Free, free, from the prison of earth to the sky!
Spring may come, but on granite will grow no green thing:
It was barren in winter, 'tis barren in spring;
And granite man's heart is, till grace intervene,
And, crushing it, clothe the long barren with green.
When the fresh breath of Jesus shall touch the heart's core,
It will live, it will breathe, it will blossom once more."

S. M. ZWEMER.

Cairo.

THE ARAB QUESTION

A LONG and particularly interesting article on the subject of the Arab movement has just been published in the monthly Islamic review, *Al Manar*, by the editor and proprietor, Al Sayed Rashid Rida, the well-known Syrian Mohammedan 'Alim, one of the renowned students of the late Sheikh Mohammed Abdu, the great Egyptian reformer. The article contains the fullest information so far published on the Arab movement and the policy of the Union and Progress Committee at Constantinople which led to it, also a description of the general impression in Egypt of the Sherif's declaration of independence. We publish a translation of this article *in extenso*, owing to the importance of the movement and to the fact that it gives a vivid picture of the state of affairs in Turkey during the last eight years. The article is as follows:

Owing to the long and numerous visits usually exchanged during the nights of Ramadan and the Bairam holidays, I have been able to learn more about the general opinion in Egypt with regard to the Arab question and the independence of the Grand Sherif in the Hedjaz than would have been possible during any other period of the year. I have had several lengthy discussions on the subject with Ulemas of the Azhar, professors of Higher Schools, judges, lawyers, physicians and other highly educated classes, and the following is a *compte-rendu* of the most important of them which took place between me and a renowned celebrity, well-known for his independence and moderation.

On meeting him during Ramadan, I asked him what his opinion was with regard to the independence of the Grand Sherif and informed him at the same time that a good number of my acquaintances and friends did not attach great importance to it and several among them did not even yet believe in the authenticity of the official communiqués published with reference to this movement.

He replied that a large number of people entertained the idea that the Sherif's action was a pure manœuvre carried out in conjunction with the Turks in order to save the country from famine, which was the natural issue of the naval blockade. The Hedjaz used to receive its foodstuffs from India, Egypt and the Sudan, and the embargo placed on the export of these articles to Arabia by Great Britain had had a ruinous effect on them—the price of an ardeb of wheat at Mecca going up to several pounds—and the reason for the Sherif's declaration of independence was apparent. He was nevertheless still loyal to the Turkish Government at heart and had no intention whatever of establishing an Arab Government or of claiming the Caliphate for the Koraish. This was why the Turkish Government had not sent troops to reduce him to submission.

"I do not readily admit this view, though reasonable," he added, "nor do I contradict it, as I am aware that there has been in the world of politics what they call the 'Arab question.' I do not know what its relations to the Grand Sherif's movement are, and how much it is connected with it. I know that the Hedjaz is not sufficiently prepared for an independent government, nor does it possess the necessary power to uphold the independence of the Caliphate. The lives of its inhabitants are further dependent on the command of the sea and on the power ruling in Syria. If no foodstuffs arrive in that country either by sea or from Syria by land, its inhabitants are bound to starve. It is also well known that the chieftains of the Arab Peninsula are in continual discord and had it not been for the Turkish suzerainty they would have exterminated one another. The Sherif himself is aware that though he does not fear the Turks at present, his independence would be at stake if Turkey came out of this war victorious. But in the event of Turkey being wiped off and he comes to an agreement with the Idrissi of Assir and the Emir of Nejd, he does not possess the necessary qualifications for 'the independent power' which the Arabs demand, nor to renew the 'Islamic Caliphate' the independence of which all the Moslems of

the world respect, as this independence and this Caliphate depend on wealth and power, which are not to be found in the Hedjaz. This is what troubles my mind and I should be obliged if you would enlighten me on these points as you have more experience in these questions than myself or any other Egyptian."

I answered that the Sherif has neither pretended to be a sovereign nor a Caliph. I have heard the reason set forth by you for declaring his independence from several Egyptians before, and his action may be quite justified, if it is true, as he is responsible to God for keeping the inhabitants of the holy places from starvation and for opening the route for the pilgrimage, which would not be possible so long as the naval blockade existed, consequent on the presence of the Turkish troops in the Hedjaz. Great Britain had allowed the export of foodstuffs to the Hedjaz during the early part of the war but finding out later that Enver Pasha had increased the number of troops and that these were profiting by the importation of the foodstuffs, the privilege was withdrawn. Had it not been also for its respect to the holy places, its fleet would have long ago bombarbed the seaports of the Hedjaz.

The Sherif is undoubtedly sincere in his rise against the Turks and the argument that the Turkish Government has neither sent troops to subdue him nor has he fought the Turkish troops in earnest, but has contented himself with besieging them, which is put forward by those who believe in the theory referred to above, is easily refutable. As a true Mohammedan the Sherif is prohibited by the teachings of his religion from shedding blood in the holy places of Islam so long as it is not necessary to do so. On the other hand the Turkish Government cannot dispose of troops to send to the Hedjaz when it is desperately engaged on the different fronts of Armenia, Persia, Mesopotamia and Syria and when a considerably large number would be required to repair that portion of the Hedjaz line which has been destroyed by the Sherifian troops, before reinforcements could be sent there.

For Turkey to fight the Sherif would only weaken her other fronts fruitlessly and may perhaps induce the re-

maining Arab tribes of the Peninsula to rise up against her as well. If she and her allies come out of this war victorious, it would be an easy task for her to subdue the Sherif. If on the other hand her enemies come out victorious, her unity will naturally be shattered to pieces, and in this case every Mohammedan whether he be a Turk or an Arab, would heartily wish that his holy land should escape the fate of the other parts of the Turkish Empire. Had the destiny of Turkey been at present in hands other than those of the Union and Progress Party, it would have been possible to expect that they would use common sense in their actions, but this party's sole aim and policy lie in exterminating the Arabs at all costs. Instead of proving to the Arab Reform Party their sincerity and good intentions, at such a perilous time as we are passing through at present, by carrying out the reforms stipulated in their agreement with Sayed El Zahraoui, subsequent to the Paris Conference, they took advantage of the absence of the Arab youth on the different fronts and of the poverty of the country consequent upon the requisitions for defence and the stagnation of business, by treacherously killing the leading Arab officers and leaders of thought and reform in Syria and Mesopotamia and by exiling their notables and wealthy men. When they had done away with these two countries they turned their face to the Hedjaz with the same malicious intentions.

My interviewer said that he was under the impression that although I had a very bad opinion before of the policy and religion of the Union and Progress Party, he noticed that I had concluded peace with them after the Balkan war, and he thought that like all Egyptians, I did not believe in the news given by the *Mokattam* and *Ahram* regarding the atrocities of Djemal Pasha in Syria. When however he read an article which I had published recently, he changed his mind. It is true I stopped my criticisms momentarily during and after the Balkan war as I thought my criticisms would be prejudicial to the interests of the Empire and hoped that the Unionists would be induced to carry out reforms, but from informa-

tion recently received from authentic sources, it became obvious that the tales about Djemal Pasha's atrocities were unfortunately perfectly true, and that Enver Pasha had visited Syria and the Hedjaz with the object of supervising in person the arrangements for the conveyance of troops and war material to the Hedjaz in order to smash the power of the Sherifs there. It is true he had intended to use Sherif Gaafar and Sherif Haidar who are friendly to their Party, as arms wherewith to break down the power of the Grand Sherif Hussein and his followers, but he was sure to treacherously turn his arms against these two friendly Sherifs as soon as they had got rid of the others, in the same manner as he had got rid of Abdel Kerim El Khalil and Sayed El Zahraoui, the two friends of Sherif Haidar, in the meanest possible way. It was only on the pressing invitations of Sherif Haidar and his assurances that the Unionists would carry out the reform agreed to and that his life would be in safety that Sheikh El Zahraoui agreed to go to Constantinople.

In spite of my experience of the Union and Progress Party, I entertained bright hopes of the visit of Enver to Syria last year, and thought that he had only come there to arrange what Djemal had upset and to seek the help of the Hedjaz tribes in this conflict. When the war broke out it was Enver who sent to the different Arab chieftains messages, couched in the most friendly tone and containing seductive passages from the Koran and Hadis, asking them to join him in the war as brothers in religion. I have seen the message addressed by him to El Idrissi (who is recognised as the Turks' bitter foe) and despatched by a special delegate. In this message Enver praises the Idrissi and expresses to him the confidence of the Government in him. I understand that he also asked the Grand Sherif to send him some troops to help him in the Sinai campaign. The Sherif had shrewdly calculated that the tens of thousands of troops sent to the Hedjaz could not have been intended for the Allies as these would not even think of turning the holy country of the Hedjaz into a field of action.

It was against him and his tribesmen that these military preparations were directed. The Unionists had already

made attempts on the life of the Sherif before the war when they sent Wahib Bey to the Hedjaz as Vali and Commandant of troops, but he was not successful in his attempt.

I am asked why the Sherif, in spite of his being aware of the intrigues of the Unionists, upheld them against the Idrissi and was about to fight Ibn Seoud, Emir of Nedjd for the same purpose. I do not know for certain when the Sherif became fully aware of the intentions of that party towards him. In any case he had always hoped that they would improve and carry out reforms. So firm was he in his belief that the Arab Reform Party had accused him of being a member of the Union and Progress Party and that he professed the opinion that the Arab's duty was to uphold the Turkish Government, believing that to paralyse the government's hands in this crisis would mean the loss of independence to Arabs and Turks alike. His son who represented Mecca in the Turkish Chamber was a Unionist; likewise his brother Sherif Nasser was a member of the Upper House. All this did not divert the Unionists from their wicked intentions towards the Sherif and his family and tribesmen. It is true some people think that, by her joining the general conflict, Turkey has escaped total ruin, for one of the terms of her treaty with Germany provides that the latter could not conclude peace unless the independence of Turkey was guaranteed.

But there are many more who think that Turkey is bound to lose her independence whether the Germans come out victorious or not. The Turkish Government is now loaded with debt, its young and energetic rulers have been decimated, and its people have been reduced to ruin and poverty. Even before the Balkan war, the Turkish budget could not be balanced without resorting to loans from outside. She will not find anyone to lend her money after the war, except perhaps Germany, and the latter will certainly not agree to do so unless she lays her hands on all the resources of the country in guarantee of these loans. That is if she come out victorious. If on the other hand she and her allies are beaten, her independence

is entirely out of the question. It may be asked why the Unionists, knowing the fatal end in store for them, have agreed to join hands with Germany. The reply to this is simple. Had it been the members of the Imperial family or the old and experienced politicians of the Empire who had decided to join Germany in the war, the answer to this question would have needed more reflection. It is these young inexperienced Unionists who took this rash step through the influence of some German Jews. There are two theories regarding the causes which led the Unionists to hand over their country to the Germans. The first is that produced by their enemies. It consists simply in the statement that the leading members of the Union and Progress Party are pure adventurers who are in search of wealth irrespective of the means leading to it.

Their enemies accuse them, not without reason, that they have not in view the interests of their country, otherwise they would have attempted from the start to put the finance of their country on a sound basis with the assistance of men like Djavid Bey, their Minister of Finance, who is of Jewish origin and well known for his ability in finance. They, however, cared for nothing of the sort. They dethroned Abdul Hamid and pillaged his treasures, which are said to have been worth several millions. I am informed from trustworthy sources, men who were living in Constantinople at the time, that their officers were seen to come out of Yildiz Palace with their pockets full of jewels and that some of them used to hide the jewels in their high military boots when their pockets became full. Likewise, when the Bulgarians reached Chataldja during the Balkan war, the Unionists pretended that there was danger to the jewels of the crown which were kept in the old Palace of Constantine, and thus took them away. They have also negotiated several great loans, receiving high commission for this work, squandered the funds of the treasury on the ground that they were required for secret services in the Ministries of Interior and War, and spent over fifty million pounds just before the Balkan war on arms and equipment; but when the

war broke out the troops were found to lack arms, equipment, provisions and all war materials. There is another method which they used in securing money. They accused wealthy persons of being pro-constitutional and in order to acquit them of this horrible crime they agreed to accept money from them. Ali Riza Pasha, ex-Minister of War paid L.T.200,000 in this way, Zohdi Pasha L.T.30,000 to L.T.40,000. They further imposed a semi-official tax of 2 per cent on the salaries of all members of their committee and sold Bosnia and Herzegovina and Tripoli for several million pounds. All those who are in touch with the Unionists state that the latter are fully aware that there is no hope for the survival of their country, so they direct all their efforts and activities to amass some fortunes by which they could guarantee their own future.

The second theory, produced by the friends of the Unionists, is that the Union and Progress Party have not sold their country, as they are unjustly accused of doing, but that their object in collecting all this money for their Committee is to make its position sufficiently powerful in order to smash the power of the Old Turks who are opposed to all modern reforms as well as to the Unionist policy of making all the elements of the Empire Turkish. They state that the sums granted by them to certain members of their party such as Dr. Nazim and Aly Riza were intended to indemnify them for losses incurred in the service of the Committee. The commissions on loans, they state, were quite legal and they found by experience that their country was weak and poor so they came to the conclusion that the only possible means to put life and energy into it again would be to invite some powerful European nation to undertake this task and they concluded a secret treaty with Germany — which they believed was the strongest European power scientifically and militarily—two years before the war broke out, by virtue of which the latter undertook to create a new Turkish Empire which would form a part of the Germanic Union. The relation of the Turks to the Germans, was to be on the same lines as that of the Hungarians to the

Austrians. It is for this reason that the Turkish papers often deal with comparisons between the Turks and Magyars, and ask whether both are not of the same origin!

It is natural that such an important agreement as this could not be officially enforced until it was approved by the Parliament. The Unionists, however, were not sufficiently confident of their success in case they were to do so; they were afraid that even some of their supporters would turn against them and their project would thus fail altogether. They, therefore, began to introduce the provisions gradually in a non-official manner. The Opposition at the time was growing stronger and at last succeeded in overthrowing the Unionists and appointing first Mukhtar Pasha and then Kamel Pasha as Grand Viziers. These, however, were not members of the Opposition—the Itilaf Party—and were furthermore not backed by Great Britain, France and Russia who were opposed to German propaganda, and the Unionists were thus able to overthrow them with the help of Germany and the influence of their wealth. This proved to be a weak point in the policy of the Entente Powers at Constantinople as their supporters at the time were more numerous than those of the Germans. I had heard of this agreement with Germany when I was at Constantinople at the time and was positive, when the war with Germany broke out, that Turkey was sure to join her in the general conflict. The British Ambassador at Constantinople and the Foreign Office in London, however, were under the impression that there was a division of opinion among the Unionist leaders and that some of them were inclined to the Entente policy, as we learnt from the "White Book" published subsequent to the breaking off of the relations with Turkey.

The Unionists, however, have the great credit that they succeeded in deceiving the Entente Powers this time, as they had succeeded in deceiving France a short time before when they negotiated the great loan with her.

It may be asked why, knowing the danger that their empire would be exposed to if they handed over the reins of their government to the Germans, these intelligent

Unionists have nevertheless carried out this proposal? It also may be asked why they have overlooked the fact that (in comparing themselves with the Hungarians) the Hungarians are united to the Austrians by bonds of religion whereas the Turks could not be united to Germany in the same manner because the Turks represent the Caliphate of Islam while the Germans are fanatics in their religion and were working hard for converting the Mohammedans of their colonies to Christianity. This was proved by the documents discovered in East Africa by the English troops this year and by the Kaiser's interview published a few years ago urging the Catholics and Protestant missionaries to combine their efforts in converting Mohammedans to Christianity. The Unionist leaders are atheists and profess neither Islamism nor any other religion. This is widely known about them and is corroborated by their words and deeds. They heartily wish that the Turkish nation should even become heathens provided Turkey should remain. They believe that Islamism stands as a stumbling block in the way of raising their nation to the level of the Hungarians or other European nations.

As to their political plans, their great object is to create a purely Turkish power which would join the Germanic league—this Turkish power being meant to include the Moslems of the Caucasus and Turkestan which they would be able to reconquer with the power of Germany. They also wish to force the other elements of their empire to abandon their language and adopt the Turkish language and further entertain the hope that with the influence of the Caliphate they will subdue the whole East and when they have completed the Ottomanisation of the whole of this new great empire they would throw away the Koran and the Mohammedan religion and would celebrate the anniversary of this shameful act as a national holiday.

I have many proofs in support of these statements and would only invite my readers to read the book entitled "Kawne Djedid" (a new nation) in which the Koran has been misinterpreted and Fast, Prayer, Charity and the

instructions of the Four Great Imams which are the mainstay of Islam, are declared to be the religion of the old nation. The mainstay of the new nation has been given in this book as "mind, good character, holy war and military preparations under the standard of the Ottoman Mohammedan Caliphate." The writer has further declared that all Mohammedan subjects of Christian Powers were Gaouirs (non-believers), that the true Mohammedans were those who fought during the Balkan war under Enver, Riza, Asad, Pjemal and other Unionist leaders and that the members of the Committee were better than the great Caliphs and holy men of Islam. In one of the passages, the writer, after stating that the Turks were sanctified by God and that veneration of the Arab Caliphs and the inscribing of the names of the latter in their mosques was a humiliation to the Turkish Caliphs, he urged not to venerate the Arab saints such as El Gilani and El Badawi and addressed them as follows: "God has sanctified the Turkish troops. The horses of these troops are far more honoured and more sanctified than the chiefs and the honourable men of the other nations whom you sanctify and venerate." There are no other chiefs of nations whom the Turks venerate besides those of the Arab nation, namely the Prophet and the four Great Caliphs. The Unionists appointed the author of this book, Obeidallah Effendi as preacher in the great mosque of St. Sophia at Constantinople, and he was instructed to preach these doctrines during the month of Ramadan and was given several policemen and gendarmes to protect him. Their object in all this was to encourage the atheist Turks to proclaim their teachings publicly so as to enable them to gradually eradicate the public veneration to the Prophet Mohammed and the great Caliphs.

It will be seen from all the above that the Sherif is rendering the greatest service to Islam by his rising against the present Turkish Government. He has foreseen that the Turkish Empire was running the risk of disappearance and has therefore safeguarded the Hedjaz by liberating it from the Turkish rule and has probably

formed the nucleus of a great Arabian Islamic power. The friendship and unity between the different chieftains has never been before better than it is now. The only chiefs at discord at present are the Idrissi and Imam Yehia and the Grand Sherif may be able to conciliate them and run the whole Arabian Peninsula on the basis of decentralisation.

The Mohammedans in Egypt do not however appear to favour this movement unless it results eventually in the establishment of a great Arabian Islamic power totally independent of foreign influence. Many of them, however, doubt the realisation of this hope although they unanimously approve of the Sherif's action as far as the protection of the holy places against the rashness of the Unionists is concerned. The Sherif's action may therefore be looked upon as in any case harmless although it may eventually result in the general welfare of Islam, or at least the welfare of the Hedjaz. Every Mohammedan who has become fully aware of the malicious actions of the Unionists has become their bitter enemy and if the Egyptians were to believe the reports published in the *Mokattam* and *Ahram* on the cruelties of Djemal Pasha in Syria which I have ascertained from the Ottoman prisoners here and other sources, I have no doubt that they would curse the initiators of these crimes. But the day is not distant when they will be convinced of the truth. —(Translated in *The Egyptian Gazette* and used by permission of its Editor.)

THE RELIGIOUS LIFE OF THE PERSIANS

To understand the real religious life of a people it is not sufficient to study merely their theological books or to take the biographies of a few leading spirits. The first show what their religious life ought to be; the latter, what it may become in its highest form. In this paper we are seeking to understand the religious life and attitude of the great bulk of the Persian Shiahs as exemplified in their lives.

The first thing which strikes us is the exalted position ascribed to the family of the prophet rather than to the prophet himself. Mohammed, according to tradition, is largely responsible for this, for he is reported to have said that he will intercede only for those who believe in the family of Ali. Naturally the Persians have exalted the latter and his descendants to a transcendent position in their hopes for the future life. Leaving out the clause, "and he was God," most of them would have no hesitancy in repeating the first two verses of John's Gospel with Ali's name for "the Word." It is commonly said "Ali is not God but he is not separate from God." A tradition, the mere repeating or hearing of which is a great work of merit, is that of the Mantle. Mohammed was lying under his mantle one day when his grandchildren appeared. He called them to him under the mantle; then their father, Ali, came in and was called to lie under the mantle; finally his daughter Fatimah joined them. At that juncture Gabriel appeared and asked God who these were. To this the reply came: "These are the father of Fatimah, the husband of Fatimah and the children of Fatimah; for the sake of these five I created all that I have created."

In a modern treatise called "Concise Information," among other things we read that Mohammed said, "God created my light and the light of Ali before He created the world and Adam and for 500,000 years we were busy with praising God before there was anything else to praise Him. When God determined to create the universe

He uncovered my light and created the throne and its pedestal, and by God, I am better than the throne and its pedestal; then He uncovered the light of Ali and created the Pen and the Tablet, and by God, Ali is better than the Pen and the Tablet; next, He uncovered the light of my son, Hasan, and created the seven heavens and the angels, and by God, Hasan is better than the seven heavens and all the angels; then He uncovered the light of Husayn and created from it Paradise and the Houris, and by God, Husayn is better than Paradise and the Houris. Lastly God created darkness which covered the seven heavens and the angels (in fear) began to praise God and call upon Him and asked me to intercede; God spoke a word and created a great light like a chandelier in the midst of the heaven to light them; and that light is the light of my daughter Fatimah."

Doubtless there were thoughful Persian Mohammedans in all ages who did not accept such tales, but to-day they are still universally believed by the mass of common people and result in a practical deification, not only of the first five of the family of Mohammed, but also of their descendants. Imam Riza who died a martyr (as they believed), in Khorasan has become almost the patron saint of Persia under ægis of these others. Hazrat-i-Abbas who was killed in the battle of Kerbela, is a great miracle worker, feared above all others. An oath in his name is one of the most binding in the whole category because of the fact of his miracle-working power for good or evil. All through the country there are numerous shrines built over the graves of descendants of Mohammed some of which are great centres of pilgrimage and many are reputed to have more or less power to work miracles of healing. Many take their sick a long way to lay them in some shrine.

In its origin, this devotion was largely partisan and to-day the fateful battle of Kerbela forms the centre around which their devotional thought swings. We do not need to dwell upon the historical features of that battle; it is the traditional accounts as accepted by the Persians which have value for their religious life. Accord-

ing to this, Hussain, the grandson of Mohammed and true Caliph, was promised his rights if he would visit Ḳufa. Setting out with his family and a small party of followers, seventy all told, he found too late that he had been betrayed. The governor had discovered the plot and given orders to stop him; Hur refused to attack the family of the prophet and joined their little band at the last moment, but Shimr had no such scruples. Even then the latter's followers made a weak attack upon the sacred family but cut off the party from water. The Persians consider it a sin to kill a mere animal while it is thirsty but for three days the Imam and his family were kept from water while little children cried from thirst. Even there Abbas, Hussain's half-brother, was the great wonder-working warrior. After his right arm had been cut away he fought on with his left and when that was gone he seized his sword in his teeth and still fought. A stray arrow struck Hussain in the mouth and soon the little band of warriors was killed and the women and children, descendants of the prophet, were carried away into captivity. A wave of dismay must have spread throughout the Moslem world for the descendants of the prophet were lying dead, killed by the faction which had most opposed him during his life.

The story and its commemoration in one way or another form the centre and core of the religious life of the mass of Persians, and if such an expression may be used in this connection, afford their chief entertainment. Wild spirits will find amusement in drinking, gaming, and dancing; in such places there are circles for literary or political discussion; some cheap mountebank troops furnish amusement in the streets for the poor; but, aside from births and weddings, the only entertainment open to the devout Shiah is some presentation of this story. The only theatrical performances worthy of the name in the country are presentations of the Passion Play of Hussain and Hasan. Such presentations have some religious value as works of merit but do not rank as high in this regard nor fill the part in their lives as other forms of presentation do.

The most common presentations are recitations by *rosa khans* in meetings called *rosa khanis*. These are in vogue at all times but especially on the eve of Friday and during the months of mourning, Moharram and Safar. In some particular these rosa khanis have the value of masses in the Roman Church: after a death in the family they are usually held for the benefit of the dead; frequently a man in making his will arranges for so many *rosa khanis* as further works of merit for his soul or leaves endowments for this purpose. To bear the expense of such meetings during life is a great work of merit. Rich men commonly arrange for them regularly in their own houses on certain days of the week throughout the year. Well-known ecclesiastics hold them in their own houses, drawing a crowd in proportion to their ability and reputation for sanctity. In the latter case the reciter acts as host, and serves tea but expects a present in money or kind from his patrons.

Naturally a large class of men make their living by giving such recitals. It requires a good memory and a fine voice. There are a few women, otherwise not generally of good repute, who act as *rosa khans* but as a rule women attend meetings for women only or have a secluded place in the gatherings for men.

The manner of the meetings themselves is simple. The leader sits upon a chair or special pulpit and recites stories of the prophets. In the only one I have had opportunity of attending (for foreigners are not very welcome), there were two reciters; one, the regular incumbent who had come by arrangement and probably had a fixed annual allowance; the other was an itinerant who had dropped in for the evening in the hope of a present. The latter led off with some routine story of the saints in which he felt most proficient. The audience was somewhat moved but not to excess. The former, however, adapted his story to the situation by telling tales of unbelievers who had been converted by miracles of the saints which were revealed to them. (When I was in Khorasan a *rosa khan* confessed his inability to argue religion with me but assured me that if I would perform the

ceremonial ablutions, wrap myself in the usual white grave clothes and breathe a prayer to Imam Riza in the shadow of whose shrine we sat, he would reveal himself to me in such a way that I could not but believe. These stories were on much the same order.) The second man interspersed his story with exhortations to think upon the sufferings of the holy saints and had much greater influence upon his hearers who, from long habit, were expecting to be moved by his performance. I fear I gave some offense because I was not more moved.

A skillful leader can work his audience up to almost any pitch. The meetings are danger places especially during the month of Moharram when all religious feeling runs high. A popular leader plays upon his audience by story and exhortation, adding here and there a denunciation of this or that, or a little sermon. The crowd may break out into violence for which they will later be sorry. Not many years ago in such a meeting in Resht a missionary and a recent convert were denounced. The matter was belittled by many in the community but resulted in so much petty persecution and threats of violence to the convert that he had to leave the city soon after. During the last few years Moharram has been an anxious time to the political leaders and the government lest these gatherings be used for political purposes in one way or another.

The anniversary of the death of Hussain comes on the tenth of Moharram while that of Hasan falls near the end of the following month so that these two months are months of mourning. When in the rotation of the lunar year, the vernal equinox, the great spring feast of the Persians, falls within the months of mourning, all its celebrations are omitted. The people ordinarily wear black throughout these months and avoid all large festivities.

Early in the month of Moharram the people begin to practice for the characteristic processions which are known as "*dastahs.*" Each quarter or sub-quarter has its own procession, and other groups, such as the merchants from a certain city, arrange their own. One of the former kings divided the cities into two factions be-

tween which there grew up much rivalry resulting in many quarrels and even pitched battles in which blood was often shed. Even now quarrels are frequent between processions; and this, together with the cloak which is sometimes made of these expressions of fanaticism to foment rebellions, makes these days an anxious time for the government. Recently it has been the custom to detail armed police to accompany each procession to prevent quarrels and bloodshed. That these precautions are not unnecessary was illustrated in Resht a few years ago, when, in the midst of high political tension, a quarrel between two processions resulted in the death of two men; while, under the cloak of this excitement, plans for a revolution were perfected which resulted in the death of the Governor and ultimately in the deposition of the king.

These "*dastahs*" are a combination of pageant and funeral procession. The pageant feature represents the bloody scenes following the battle: riderless horses, children being carried away captive, savage conquerors strutting along, and the weeping widowed women. As the impressionable East watches these scenes, the ancient tragedy lives again for them and they are moved to sobbing and tears. It is a great work of merit to throw water to the children as they march calling as of old "I thirst, I thirst." In the funeral features are to be reckoned numerous banners: the standard of Mohammed, the standard of Hazrat-i-Abbas, consisting of a severed arm and hand, and many others, including one of a long, thin piece of metal which because of its vibrations, is said to be weeping. Then come the bands of mourners: children beating on pieces of wood, bands of older men chanting and throwing dust upon themselves or beating their heads in a mild way, and bands of younger men furiously beating their breasts with their hands or their backs with bunches of chains. On the tenth, if the political situation is favorable, these processions pass in review before the governor.

A special feature reserved for the tenth day of the month is bands of devotees who cut their heads as they march.

This is a comparatively new custom and the story of its origin illustrates the Persian attitude and the way such customs grow. About sixty years ago a *rosa khan* in Kerbala appeared in the *rosa khani* with a large sword in his hand. As he drew near to the close of his recitation he exclaimed, "On this day the blessed Hussain had a bloody forehead. Shall I not have one also?" and suiting action to words he began to cut his head with his sword. The following year a few others followed his example and now throughout the whole of Persia are thousands who take part each year in this exercise of extreme devotion. Some of them are pure fanatics who do it to win merit; others have vowed during illness of themselves or some dear one to take part in these processions or perhaps a mother has dedicated her son in this service of the Imams.

A few years ago when it was deemed inadvisable to hold a general review I witnessed the organization of such a procession. In this particular group was a man whose special "stunt" was to run large pins or nails into his body from which he hung various objects of more or less weight, and who then carried a platform of lamps which seemed, at least, to be supported on the nails run into his body. While he was preparing others were gathering. Each, having shielded his head, carried a short sword about two feet long and now donned white grave clothes to signify that he was ready to go to death in the service of the Imam. When all were ready, each took his neighbor's sash in his left hand and, sword in his right, began to march around in a circle, shouting, "Hasan, Hussain," in time to his steps; encouraged by the onlookers they all began to beat time with their swords. Gradually one, then another began to strike his head with the edge of his sword until the blood flowed. As enthusiasm arose, the chant became quicker and the band of men set out marching in this fashion to a shrine and mosque not far away. As we followed after we found one poor fellow had fallen down in a faint from the loss of blood. Later in the day these devotees are entertained by various men of the city.

On another occasion I was permitted to witness the review from a seat near the reviewing stand. It was a remarkable sight; the long processions, each with its own special features and its bands of mourners beating themselves and calling to mind the sufferings of the Imams, the waving banners, the weeping people, the blaring trumphets. Then followed a pause. From the distance the measured chant, "Hasan, Hussain," of the sword men. Their slashing knives appeared above the heads of the crowd, then their blood-stained white garments; the air became electrical and the excitement intense as they approached the governor's place. It was indeed a wild scene. One band refused to pass on. They had demanded a certain prisoner from the governor. The latter refused. Their shouts rose with renewed persistence while their swords were brandished in the air to emphasize their demands. It was the old picture of the mob demanding the present of a life on the feast day and the unwilling governor. Again the mob won.

The Persians say that even a foreigner cannot listen to the story of Kerbela without being moved. It is not the distant historical tale, so very real to them, though dim and unreal to him, that moves him; it is the evidence of the reality of this tale to the easy-going pleasure loving Persian and the effect upon him, that moves the onlooker to sympathy. What is it that transforms a quiet business man into an enthusiast willingly cutting his head and shouting, "Hasan Hussain?" The scornful may mock, as did Elijah of old, but the man of love can only marvel and pity.

The question arises, What is the religious value and significance of this devotion to the family of Ali? Why has it such a hold upon the people? We must not fail to recognize the elements which form practically a substitute for an incarnation as we would understand it. The Shiah formally denounces the Christian deification of Christ but the Persian has always been given to seeking such incarnations, and Persia's religious history is studded with characters who have claimes to be manifestations of the Divine Being, culminating in the Babi Bahai

movement of our own day. The theological position of Islam has been too strong for them but into the very heart of Shiah Islam we find these equivalents. The Persian desires a closer relation to the Unseen, a greater confidence that his prayers will be heard, a fuller assurance of heaven than the cold hard dogma of the Koran and the theologians.

A second apparently close approach to Christianity is found in the idea of an atonement through the death of Hussain. In traditions and the passion play Mohammed is made to say that Hussain will die for his people. Many assert that the death of Hussain holds the same place in the Shiah faith that that of Christ does in the Christian. This proposition is popularly held in Persia. It may be that this doctrine has been emphasized and developed in the effort to refute Christianity's exclusive claims to an atoning Saviour. It certainly makes it difficult for the missionary in Persia to preach Christ crucified in a public way, for so many of his hearers simply scorn this idea since, in their opinion, the death of Christ is of little value as compared with the death of Hussain. Christ has only five wounds while Hussain, according to tradition, had one thousand nine hundred and fifty-one and hence is a much more worthy sacrifice.

On a closer examination, however, we find an important difference. Although the word "sacrifice" is sometimes used in regard to Hussain, the Persian theologian never uses the word "atonement" in respect to the work of Hussain but always "intercession." Hussain saves by his intercession, not through a vicarious death as we understand the death of Christ. Tradition has been piled upon tradition to emphasize this feature and exalt the family of the prophet. Mohammed said he would not intercede for any one who did not believe in Ali and his children. One day when fondling Hussain, Mohammed told of his coming martyrdom and said that whoever visits his tomb acquires the merit of one greater and one lesser pilgrimage to Mecca. To the protest of Ayesha (who is jealous of the family of Fatimah) he replies that it will not be the merit of only two such pilgrimages but

of ninety, and so on until she gives it up. Ali's family are more powerful intercessors than Mohammed because they suffered so much more than he. He had only a broken tooth but Ali was stabbed, Hasan poisoned, Hussain slain in battle, Fatimah had a miscarriage because of rough usage, another child was slain at Kerbela, etc. Hussain stands pre-eminent because of his greater suffering (there are traditions to show that this was voluntary for he might have had the assistance of innumerable jinns if he had asked it) but in the last day Fatimah will really be the great intercessor for she will bring to the judgment the proofs, as it were, of their right to intercede: Mohammed's broken tooth, Ali's turban, Hasan's liver, Hussain's bloody shirt, Abbas's arms, the blood of the innocent child and her own stillborn babe. When God sees these proofs of their suffering He will not refuse their pleas. Their influence will be exerted to bring into Paradise all who have caused people to cry by reciting the sufferings of the prophet's family, all who have cried at hearing the tale, and even those who have pretended to cry!

Although such traditions would apparently assure each Shiah a certain and easy way of entering Paradise, the Persian really looks upon these various acts of devotion as a means of piling up merit which in the last day will balance his misdeeds. They consider the moral sins, lying, stealing, adultery, even drinking of liquor as comparatively venial, easily offset by works of merit. This is the reason why such devotional exercises overshadow so greatly in the thought of the people, the regular prescribed religious duties. A man who observes the times of prayer, for instance, merely does his duty and acquires merit only negatively as it were. Whereas if he has failed in some point he can atone for the omission by some work of supererogation. Thus the real question becomes "How can I acquire merit?" There are many ways of acquiring merit but the greatest value is attached to acts of devotion toward the family of the prophet. Thus, a pilgrimage to some shrine (if important enough) is better than supporting a hospital for the poor, and a

gift to a descendant of the prophet is of more value than to an ordinary man even though the former be well-to-do and the latter in dire need.

In passing we may note another approach to a Christian doctrine. We commonly think of the resurrection as our proof that Christ lives and makes intercession, but the Shiah has not needed any such proof to lead him to a similar faith and confidence in the living reality of his Imams. Not only does he think that all the Imams are now living in Paradise (their bodies never decay) but that the twelfth Imam never died but is still alive, the Lord of Time, though hidden from men's eyes, and that he will appear again to reign and rule upon earth.

The Christian missionary is confronted therefore with a difficult and peculiar situation. On the one side, there is the historically bitter verbal opposition to the doctrine of the incarnation but a virtual acceptance of the same in regard to Ali and his family. On the other hand, their failure to distinguish between the significance of the death of Christ and that of Hussain obscures the wide underlying difference. Even the sinlessness of Christ does not appeal to the Persian at first, for, to him, all prophets are sinless. The only doctrine which he will readily acknowledge as distinctly Christian is that of the indwelling of the Holy Spirit. His Imam may occasionally help him but they do not dwell in him. The greatest hindrance, therefore, to the progress of Christianity in Persia is the absence of evidence of such an indwelling in those nominal Christians with whom the Persians are most familiar and the chief hope of reaching them is through a Spirit-filled life in their midst which will ultimately convict them of sin and show them a higher, more beautiful ideal than any they have heretofore known.

Resht, Persia. J. DAVIDSON FRAME, M.D.

THE MOSLEM PRESS OF BENGAL

THERE are two ways of learning what Moslems are thinking. One is to mix freely with them and hear what they are saying, and the other is to read their papers and see what they are writing.

The leading vernacular Muslim paper in Bengal is the monthly *Al Islam*. This is a well-edited, illustrated journal of seventy pages, printed on good paper, and, for the most part, contributed to by men of good education. One of its declared objects is to expose the machinations of deceitful missionaries, and its principal object is to hold up Islam as the one hope for sinful men. A brief *résumé* of the contents of the last number, just to hand, will give the reader a very fair idea of what educated Muslims are thinking and saying in this part of the great harvest field.

The place of honour is given to an article, which is to be continued in successive numbers, on "The History of the Canon of the Christian Scriptures." The article, which needless to say is an attack on the authenticity and integrity of the canonical Scriptures, is prefaced with a list of seventy apocryphal books and promises to extend over several numbers.

The next article is entitled, "The Muslims of China." These good folk are stated to number 70,000,000! The article in question consists of a glowing panegyric of the Muslims of China, which would make the Chinese members of our League rub their eyes. We are told that in Pekin alone there are 28 mosques and 17 madrassas. The *shariat* is observed in a way that puts the rest of the Muslim world to shame. The seclusion of females is rigidly enforced; the fast is universally kept; and the pilgrimage is made by so many that the number of Chinese *hajis* is "beyond imagination."

This is followed by an article entitled, "The Ancient Library of Alexandria," and is taken up with a refutation of the charges which have been made against Omar in connection with the destruction of that priceless collection of books. We have no space to deal with this long article. It must suffice to say that in the course of the article the following authors are quoted:—Sale, Gibbon, Muir, Butler, Draper, and the *Encyclopedia Brittanica*.

Another article, one of a series, deals with the question of Islam's treatment of subject races, and, like the preceding one, is an apologetic. Its object is to show that Islam, in its treatment of the Zimmis and other subject communities, is one of the most tolerant and at the same time considerate masters the world has ever seen!

Yet another article seeks the glorification of Islam by proving to the author's satisfaction that Muslims were the inventors of printing.

The same number of *Al Islam* contains the fourteenth contribution to a serial life of Muhammad which is running through the paper. Needless to say, this biography is largely an attempt to whitewash the prophet and to present him as the model man. The author defends Muhammad's polygamy by a reference to the polygamy of the Old Testament prophets, and makes frequent reference to the attacks of European writers, whom he tries to answer.

Yet another article is headed "The Decay of Literature in Islam," and the author contrasts Baghdad, in the period of its greatest literary activity, with the position in the Muslim world to-day.

Another Muslim Bengali periodical is the weekly *Muhammadi*. This, like *Al Islam*, is closely connected with the Islam Mission, and it contains regular references to the work of the mission, as well as publishes lists of subscriptions to that organization. *Muhammadi* is violently anti-Christian, and divides its diatribes pretty evenly between the Christian missionaries and the Quadiani sect, which has recently been showing renewed activity in Bengal. We translate an editorial note on the latest anti-Christian booklet published by the Muslim

Mission. It runs as follows: "*Atonement*—We desire to acknowledge with thanks the receipt of a book published by the Moslem Mission, entitled *Atonement*. The foundations of Christianity are based upon the fanciful doctrine that Jesus Christ gave his life upon the cross as an atonement for the sins of all Christians. The writer (of *Atonement*), Maulvi Muzaffer Uddin, a preacher of the Mission, has by various irrefragable proofs reduced this foundation to powder. The printing and paper are good, and the book, containing 56 pages, is sold for six pice (1½ d.). May this book be found in every Muslim home. It will be found an infallible means for exposing Christian perfidy."

Quite a large amount of space has recently been given to the work of the Quadiani missionaries, who are making their presence felt in various parts of Bengal. Khawaja Kamaluddin, of the Woking mosque, would not be exactly flattered at the following description of his sect, which recently appeared in an editorial of the *Muhammadi:* "It should be specially remembered that the Quadiani sect is not a branch or sect of Islam. It is an entirely new religion, with Mirza Ghulan Ahmad as its prophet. According to the opinion of this sect 400,000,000 Muslims have strayed from the path of religion. As a matter of fact the religion of this sect is quite opposed to Islam."

Muhammadi is a newspaper, and contains not a little news of current events, but the requirements of the censor make it impossible for the editor to speak his mind on such subjects as the Arabian revolt. His comments on the great war are, for the same reason, of little value as as indication of the trend of Muslim thought.

Christian workers in Bengal will find *Muhammadi* an excellent medium for becoming acquainted with the transactions of the various provincial Muslim Leagues, as well as for keeping in touch with the question of Muhammadan education in the Province.

Pubna, Bengal. WILLIAM GOLDSACK.

THE KIBLA: A MECCA NEWSPAPER

A MODERN newspaper published in Mecca—the latest telegrams and marconigrams printed in the city of the Kaaba, the Holy of Holies of Islam, the acme of religious exclusiveness—truly an anomaly worthy of mark.

This same strange meeting of East and West, of the middle ages and modern thought, is to be seen throughout the paper, appealing as it does to the free Bedouin of the desert, and the cultured university student of the town.

We find a well planned and thoughtfully expressed argument in favour of the Pan-Arab movement, side by side with a diatribe against the Committee of Union and Progress, for their contempt for the tradition of the turning from eastward to the direction of Mecca of the church of St. Sohpia (Constantinople), at the prayer of a Moslem saint; while another artiste upholds the present alliance among Arab tribes by reference to the alliances in the early days of Islam.

The telegrams, chiefly official communiqués from Cairo, are plainly expressed and up-to-date, covering the course of the war from day to day; while local news, both telegraphic and by messenger, occupies considerable space, and shows the progress of organisation and discipline in the parts of the country under the Sherif's control.

There is also a series of extracts from notable Arabic writers, chiefly dealing with moral and social virtues; while extracts from European and other newspapers and periodicals occupy some considerable space.

Throughout the paper two chief characteristics of its policy become increasingly manifest. The first and main object is the promotion of Arab ascendency in every possible way, and, as an essential to this, the cause of the Sherif of Mecca; while the second, more or less conse-

quent upon the former, is definite opposition to the Committee of Union and Progress, and its whole policy especially the alliance with the Central Powers.

These objects are attained in various ways. On the one hand we have a detailed account of the movement in the Hijaz from its inception and various articles dealing with the debt of Islam to the Arab, the position of the Arab after the Hijaz rising, his place in the Moslem world and similar subjects; as well as such details as the origin of Islam in Java and the present revolt there, and the introduction of Islam into China; also quotations from various newspapers, both European and Moslem, all to the aggrandisement of the Arab, his history and language.

On the other hand there is the series of "Pages from the History of the Committee of Union and Progress," chiefly occupied with details of the perquisites secured by various members of that body, and their shameless exploitation of their position to achieve personal ends; as well as other articles bearing on their relation to religious customs and traditions, their treatment of the Sultan and their subservience to foreign influence.

Turning to more particular examination of special items, we find that the publication of "The New People," occupies much attention. This book is a series of lectures delivered three years ago in the St. Sophia Mosque by Sheikh Obeid Allah, a mouthpiece of the Committee of Union and Progress. A review of the book and discussion of its author appear in two of the earlier numbers of the pages, while throughout there are constant quotations from it, and discussions thereof. Some of the points which arouse most opposition are in the suggestion that the names of the first (Arab) Caliphs on the Constantinople mosques be replaced by those of the later (Turkish) Caliphs, that the Koran be translated into Turkish to obviate the necessity of learning Arabic, and that some of the mosques be closed and their revenues devoted to war purposes. Other pronouncements bitterly resented are, that the pilgrimage is not a necessity if the position of the Sultan renders war service elsewhere desirable, and that the "Traditions" so highly honored by all orthodox

Moslems contain many contradictions and discrepancies and thus lack authority.

Other articles again deal with the action of the Progressives in burning the library at Taif, as contrasted with that of the Sherif of Mecca in preserving and improving the one in that city; their audacity in firing on the Kaaba itself, their suppression of Arab societies in Constantinople, and their persecution of Syrian notables.

It will be observed that most of the above points tend directly to the weakening of the position of the Arab people and the opposition to them is largely on that ground, and on the score of the foreign ascendency which the Progressives have brought about in Constantinople.

A considerable space is naturally devoted to the support of the Shereef, his proclamation of independence and details of his administration, while the victory over the Turkish forces at Taif is given in detail as well as the earlier achievements at Mecca.

Some of the newspaper extracts are of great interest, including lengthy quotations from the *Ahram* of Egypt on the origin of the Arab rising and the Shereef's proclamation and another eulogising the management of the recent pilgrimage, and the greatly improved order of the country under the Shereef's rule.

There are quotations from Syrian newspapers describing the doings of the Progressives in that country, and an extract from the *Near East* dealing with its future prospects, while another article from the same paper warns against the secret purpose of the Progressives (the ascendency of the Turk as against the Arab).

There is a note from the *Morning Post* on the influence of the Hajiz Movement in India, while an extremely interesting article translated *in extens.* from an Urdu newspaper is worthy of summary. The author, who promises that he holds no brief for the English, points out, in discussing the Arab *vs.* the Turk, that Mecca holds a position of unique importance for the whole Moslem world, hence the peculiar interest of the present movement. The Caliphate is considered as having been usurped by the Turkish Sultans, and rightfully belonging to the Sherif of Mecca,

for it was confined even in its widest sense to the Koreish and their successors, hence could never pass to a Turk from an Arab. The article stoutly combats the suggestion that the Arab movement was engineered from without by Christian powers, maintaining that, were this the case, foreign help would have been asked and given; also contending that Arabia, an unproductive land, has no attraction for other than Arabs. It concludes with an exhortation to Indian Moslems to uphold the cause of the Shereef by every means in their power.

The reasons for the present weakness of Islam are, naturally, the subject of considerable thought, quotations are given from European authorities describing the debt which Western culture has owed to Arab learning in the past, and another attributing the Moslem declension in the present time to loss of the true spirit of their religion. "The people who desire progress must not abandon the outward forms of religion which bind them to the past, and they must honor its traditions and rules."

In "The Weakness of Islam and its Causes" the writer refers to the numerous authorities, both Western and Eastern, who attribute the rapid advance of the Moslem power in the early days to the religious factor, and asserts that the desertion by Moslems of the fundamentals of their religion, and their departure from Islamic culture is the primary cause of present decadence. He vigorously attacks the Committee of Union and Progress for their attitude in contemning this same culture and looking for inspiration to the West. Exception is taken to the statement in "The Union of Islam" that the present day Moslem has lost his power of independent thought through long continued adherence to tradition and is dependent on other peoples for initiative; the writer maintaining that the conditions of power now are the same as in the early days, and that return to the primitive faith and culture is what is required, not the introduction of a new and alien learning.

Bearing more directly on the positive side of Arab advancement, though in most cases with the element of opposition to the Progressive party introduced, are

nearly all the leading articles; among which may be noted as of interest one on the widespread influence of the Hijaz Movement, and another giving a brief résumé of the Italian struggle for independence comparing the relations of Italian and Austrians at that time with those now existing between the Arabs of the Hijaz and the Turks. Yet another emphasizes the subservience of the Progressives to Germany, and calls on the Arabs to throw off that yoke; while all are most optimistic as to the ultimate result of the Shereef's rising.

Under the title "Where is the Osmanli Federation" the question is introduced as to who are to be considered the true successors of the early Moslem empire, the Turks, whose whole policy has tended towards its weakening, and who have lost various of its provinces, and made the whole government subservient to German influence; or the Arabs who, after long patience, have risen to assert "Arabia for the Arab," and to maintain the dignity of the Arabic speaking races. This position is still further maintained in commenting upon extracts from a Turkish newspaper, which contends that the Turks being the largest and most influential part of the Osmanli confederation should give it their name; while in yet another place a stirring and eloquent appeal to support the cause of the Shereef is based upon the same foundation.

The case against the Progressive party is further strengthened by citations from Arabs resident in Switzerland who assert that the Turkish army was deliberately sold by them into the German power; while a long article on "Ourselves and our Enemies" indicts them for their courting of the Central Powers as the repository of all learning and culture. Reference is made to the German regulations for the Suppression of Islam in their colonies, to Germany's spoiling of Palestine and appropriation of her produce, and the probability that if she once had power in other Moslem countries they would follow suit. The nations of Europe have risen against her pride and the Arabs are urged to break away from alliance with her while there is yet time, so as not to share her inevitable fate. The need of the day is for the *Man*—and he is to be

found in the Shereef—it behooves all patriotic Arabs to follow him and support him with all their might.

It is hardly needful to reiterate what appears to be the main object of this new venture in the newspaper world—the support of the Movement for Arab independence and return to old religious tradition by every possible means and, consequent upon this opposition to all that tends to hinder the Pan-Arab cause. Suffice it to say that no item of news appears to be too trivial or too distant to serve this purpose and that, in the main, facts appear to be recorded accurately and without exaggeration, though possibly only those are mentioned which bear favorably upon the object in view.

(Miss) M. Reeves Palmer.

Cairo, Egypt.

SAMUEL GRAHAM WILSON OF PERSIA

ONE of the ablest and most courageous of the all too small band of missionaries devoted to the work for Moslems, finished his life course in Tabriz, Persia, on Sunday, July 2, 1916. Samuel Graham Wilson was born in Indiana, Pa., in 1858. He took his college course in Princeton University, taking his A.B. degree in 1876, and his A.M. degree in 1879, and obtained his theological training in the Western Theological Seminary, Allegheny, Pa. After his postgraduate course at Princeton he went out to Persia in 1880. For over thirty years he gave himself and his unusual gifts with tireless and energetic service to the work of Christian Missions in Tabriz.

His primary work in Persia was the development of the school for boys in Tabriz. He began of necessity with Armenians and it was many years before conditions were sufficiently liberalized to enable him to secure Moslem pupils, but in due course this came, and at the time of his death, of the 300 boys in the school, one-half were Mohammedans. He did not compromise in the slightest degree his principles or his educational policy to secure or retain Moslem pupils. Required daily chapel and regular Bible study were in the curriculum from the outset, and were never dispensed with to conciliate the Moslem constituency. But Mohammedan fathers respected his religious loyalty and wanted to have their sons under his clean moral influence. On the occasion of the dedication of the new hospital in Urumia a few years ago he made the address, and to the large Mohammedan audience that was present spoke in the clearest and most positive way of the Christian motive and the Christian purpose embodied in the institution. Some prominent Mohammedans whom it was feared his plain speech might have offended, commented afterwards with satisfaction and admiration upon his sincerity and courage, and rejoiced

that one was working in the midst of them who could so completely command their confidence and respect. This Christian loyalty penetrated all his educational work. For many years he and Mrs. Wilson conducted the school single-handed, but rejoiced when help came both in missionary associates and by means of short term teachers from America. The school became the largest mission school in Western Persia, and the most respected and influential institution in Tabriz.

From the beginning to the end Dr. Wilson's interest and activity were directly missionary and evangelistic. The school itself was to him a distinctly evangelizing agency. He regarded it as a means of propaganda as well as an agency for the development of character and power in young men. He strove to lead his students to Christ. Both the school and his home were used to the full for this purpose. The idea of conducting a school of religious neutrality was an impossible idea to him. The truth of Christ was the greatest truth he knew, and he would have dismissed summarily the idea that he should teach the truth of mathematics and geography and history and science, and not the highest and most important truth of all.

It was not only in the school that Dr. Wilson was an evangelist. He preached constantly in the church in Tabriz, and he called with regularity in the homes, both Armenian and Moslem, where he was ever welcome, and where he knew how to speak directly and persuasively of Christ. He was a leader in the itinerating work of the field, and his associate, the Rev. Robert M. Labaree, writes: "There is in existence a small map, drawn by Dr. Wilson's own hand, of all the villages, large and small, lying around Tabriz within a radius of twenty-five miles. He had visited all of them with the message he loved during the busy cares of a school year. This he did, not in car and carriage, but on horseback; and he accomplished it only by making use of week-ends and holidays, when he might rightly have felt that he deserved a rest. More than this, few men have toured Northwestern Persia more widely than he."

Dr. Wilson had a singularly alert and inquisitive mind, hospitably open to new facts and from the beginning of his work in Persia he made his way into the life and thought of the people. He was an excellent linguist and he studied both the literature and the social and intellectual movements of the nation in which he lived. He wrote an accurate history of the mission work in Western Persia, a short novel descriptive of Armenian life, an entertaining and trustworthy account of social customs, and when his last furlough, prolonged by an accident, gave him leisure, instead of wasting time he bought up with his customary thrift every available hour, and produced two valuable books, one on "Behaism and its Claims," and the other on "Modern Movements Among Moslems." These were not hasty compendiums, but careful and first hand studies of facts, combined with a full and critical knowledge of the available literature. Dr. Wilson's judgment was positive and entirely independent. He believed what he believed, and had a reason for his belief, and yet he was singularly modest and docile, with his eyes always open for any new light which might make facts or the truth in facts more clear and sure.

In practical affairs he was marked by quite unusual sagacity. His business judgment and his ability to handle funds and property undertakings were extraordinary. Even the Armenians, to whom the Jews are but as children in such worldly affairs, looked upon Dr. Wilson with respect and awe. He could not be over-reached or imposed upon, and while his own methods were candour itself, he was an acknowledged master. There was in him indeed a very rigid ethical spirit. In honesty and integrity he was of the old fashioned type of stiff and exacting honour. If anything was questionable then to him it was unquestionably wrong. Deception and subtlety were strangers to him. His success in all practical affairs was due simply to his frugal industry, his sound judgment, his scrupulous exactness, and his complete dependableness.

His last work in Persia was in the distribution of relief to the Armenians and Syrians. He had returned to the

United States on furlough in 1912 and had been seriously injured in a railroad wreck, but he was anxious to go back to Persia, and the doctors had given permission to go, but the outbreak of the war delayed him. When the horror of the conflict brought suffering to the Christian population of Eastern Turkey and Western Persia, however, he left his family in America and pressed back alone. At first he made his headquarters in Tiflis in the Caucasus, where he purchased and distributed supplies in behalf of the Red Cross Society, and acted as the agent of the Armenian and Syrian Relief Funds. The American Consul viewed his energy and efficiency with surprise and pride. In one of his dispatches he reported that in his judgment a more superior man for the task could not have been found. In his hands money went twice as far as it would in any other, and it could be confidently said that not one dollar which he could control would be unwisely used. The strain of the work was too great, however, and when he reached Tabriz in June after an arduous service in the Caucasus and then in the Salmas plain in Persia, the germs of typhoid fever were already at work. He was given an extraordinary welcome in Tabriz by the Armenian community as well as by old Moslem friends. The great ministry of relief in which he had been engaged opened to him doors of sympathy and friendship which he would have at once entered with his Gospel, but in spite of the fact that he had taken the anti-typhoid inoculation just before leaving America, the disease laid hold upon him, and weakened by the ceaseless toil and strain of the relief work he finished his course on Sunday, July 2. The expressions of grief and loss from the Gregorian Church and the Armenian community were unprecedented. Ecclesiastics and officials and common people vied with each other to show their gratitude and affection. The long life of fidelity was crowned with its rich reward.

To Dr. Wilson the historic and evangelical conviction of the Church was rationally valid and satisfying. He met Islam with no wavering and insecure Gospel. He was kindly, patient, and conciliatory, but he was clear

and positive and sure. He knew Whom he had believed, and he was prepared to justify his knowledge and his faith. He knew Islam and Behaism too, better than the adherents of these religions with whom he talked and for whom he toiled. He was a faithful workman, well furnished for his work. Alas, that he could not leave his tools and his skill to those who must come after him.

ROBERT E. SPEER.

New York City.

ANDREW WATSON OF EGYPT

DR. ANDREW WATSON, the Nestor of the American Mission, in Egypt, died at his home in Cairo, on December 9, 1916, in the 83rd year of his age. He was ill less than two weeks. On Sunday evening, November 26, he conducted the English service in the Mission church, preaching and administering the Communion. On November 30 he was present at the Thanksgiving Service of the American Community.

Dr. Watson was a Scotchman by birth; he was born at Cliverburn, Perthshire, February 15, 1834. While yet a boy he emigrated with his parents to America. He was educated in the schools and a college in his adopted state and at Princeton and Pittsburgh Theological Seminaries. Having been appointed a missionary to Egypt, in order to prepare himself for a wider and a fuller service he took a partial course in medicine at Jefferson Medical College, Philadelphia. In 1861 he arrived in Egypt. After spending a few years in Alexandria and Mansura, he was assigned to the work of the mission in Cairo. At the time of his death he was one of the oldest foreign residents in Egypt, and it is believed that he was the oldest Protestant missionary in active service in all Africa.

During the 55 years which he spent in this country he witnessed the many wonderful changes that have taken place economically, socially, administratively—in education, justice, order. He came while Said Pasha was Wali of Egypt. He lived through the Khediviates of Ismail, Tewfik and Abbas. He saw the withdrawal of the French and the occupation by the English. He witnessed the enthronement of the present Sultan and the establishment of the British Protectorate. To all the growth, development, expansion and uplift of Egypt the American Mission has contributed largely, and Dr. Watson has always been among its leaders.

His greatest work, of course, was as a missionary. On his arrival in Egypt there were only six members of the embryo native Protestant Church. To-day there is a native Protestant Community of 30,000 to 40,000 members, containing over 13,000 communicants. He helped to establish in 1864 the Mission Theological Seminary—the oldest school of Protestant Theology in Egypt. In 1869 he was made the Professor of Systematic Theology and since 1892 he had been the head of the school. Through his class room have passed the pastors and preachers of the Egyptian Protestant Church—many of whom are men of power, and occupy positions of influence in the cities, towns and villages of Egypt from Alexandria to Aswan. The work he did in this school has been his great life work—it and its results are his abiding monument. A mission is successful only as it is able to train a native ministry.

Dr. Watson in 1890, during a visit to America, was chosen the Moderator of the General Assembly of the United Presbyterian Church—the highest court of the home church. In 1897 he published his History of the American Mission in Egypt, a work that sets forth most vividly the conditions of the country and of mission life and work during the second half of the 19th century.

He had a leading part in the organization of the civil and political status and relations of the native Protestant Communities in Egypt by which a firman was obtained from the Sultan of Turkey recognizing their official existence and their legal rights. He was the head of the committee sent as pioneers in establishing the American Mission in the Sudan in 1900. In 1910 he was a delegate to the World's Missionary Conference at Edinburgh.

Dr. Watson's influence and activities extended beyond the bounds of the special work of his mission. He was a member for many years of the committee in control of the Deaconess' Hospital in Cairo. He was trusted by all. Servants brought their savings to him to invest for them. Heirs entrusted their small inheritances to his care to administer for them. And only a few weeks ago the Head of the City Police placed in his hands the administration

of a sum of money to be applied to the needs of a dependent family. He was liberal and generous to the poor. No needy person was ever turned from his door without food or the means of getting food.

He was a man simple, humble, faithful—he never shirked a duty and he never failed a friend. His convictions were strong both as regards the message which he carried always and everywhere of salvation through Jesus Christ our only Lord and Redeemer; and also as regards the method and urgency of presenting this message. In this respect he was a leader in Church Councils and missionary conferences. He was a preacher who loved preaching. His last message was "The unsearchable riches of Christ for all." Dr. Watson will be missed in his home, his community, his church and by his follow workers. "Let me die the death of the righteous, and let my last end be like his."

J. R. ALEXANDER.

Cairo, Egypt.

NOTES ON CURRENT TOPICS

Pilgrims at Mecca

According to the Arabic journal, *Al Ahram*, the total number of pilgrims at Mecca amounted to 12,000. "Compared with the large numbers of pilgrims who went to the Hedjaz in previous years, this number is very small; yet it was large enough to revive economic transactions at Mecca where inactivity has prevailed in business quarters since the beginning of the war. There were at Mecca and the neighbouring districts about 500 Egyptian pilgrims left over from last year in a state of destitution, and these received ample relief on the arrival of the Egyptian Mahmal and pilgrims this year, and returned with their countrymen to Egypt, thanks to the special arrangements made for them by the Emir el Hag, in accordance with the orders of the Sultan and his Prime Minister. The 12,000 pilgrims were as follows: 3,000 Indians, 1,800 Egyptians, 1,200 accompanying the Mahmal, 500 pilgrims remaining from 1913, 800 ulemas and notables from Morocco, Tunis, Algier and Senegal; 2,000 notables of Assyr, 2,500 of the Arabs of Najd and the Yemen; and the Mahmal Military escort numbering 600, besides the inhabitants of Jeddah, Mecca, Taif and other places, and the Army of the Grand Sherif. In previous years it was impossible for every individual to perform the 'tawaf,' *i.e.* the walk round the Kabaa, alone, but this year it was possible."

The Education of Moslems in Bengal

According to *United India and Native States:* "The Government of Bengal have passed orders on the question of the development of education among the Mohammedans of the province and the further measures to be adopted for affording greater facilities to the members of the Moslem community. Those orders are the outcome of a report submitted by the committee appointed by Government to report on the question in all its bearings and indicate the directions in which there is still room for progress. The educational backwardness of the Bengal Muslims is recognised by Government who are also fully alive to the disadvantages arising out of this state of things. Government observe very properly that the comparatively slow progress made by the Mohammedans, especially in the higher branches of education, has prevented them from taking as full a share in the public life of the province as the Hindus and that many of the administrative difficulties by which the authorities in Bengal are confronted are due to the educational inequalities between the two communities.

"As a step towards the encouragement of higher education among Muslims, the committee have recommended that in the State Schools, one-fourth of the total number of seats should be reserved for members of that community and we are glad to find that Government have accepted this recommendation. We hope that Mohammedan parents

in Bengal will recognise the kindness on the part of Government which has prompted this concession and make full use of the opportunities placed within their reach for it should not be said that for want of suitable Mohammedan youths the seats allotted to them remained vacant to the exclusion of Hindu boys. We think that the Government of Bengal should, like the Government of Mysore, institute a liberal scheme of scholarships, tenable during a limited number of years, for promising Mohammedan young men. The community consists of men who are mostly poor and in their present depressing condition they are entitled to some encouragement."

The Present Attitude of Islam in India

A friend in India writing to the *Church Missionary Review* says: "Mohammedans are interesting to me and I am struck with two things on their part. (1) The colour washing of Mohammed with ideas from the Bible of what a prophet should be like. He is now pictured as humble, kind, pure, etc. His numerous marriages are explained as arising from his kindness in providing the protection of his name to the aged widows of comrades who fell in the wars. N.B.—His favorite wife was a young girl, daughter of a comrade who survived him. (2) They are dropping (or many of them are) the name Mohammedan altogether, and taking Mussulman in its place. Some of them take it in its true spiritual sense. One writes to me, 'My creed is this: I believe in God as my Father and in His unchanging love for me, and so I call myself a Mussulman, *i.e.*, one who is at peace with, and is submissive to God.' The same told his fellow-students that 'No one can be a Mussulman unless he is first a Christian.' This looks as if some would drift to a mutilated creed. 'There is no God but God,' and would leave out, 'and Mohammed is the prophet of God.'" Readers of Dr. Zwemer's writings will know that this is a true reading of the Mohammedan mind, for he tells us that hundreds of thousands of educated Mohammedans now have higher ideals than the prophet himself. The new Islam also feels compelled to re-interpret part of the Koran. It is at pains to prove that the Mohammedan faith was never propagated by the sword, that slavery was only a temporary institution, and that Mohammed never permitted polygamy. Higher criticism of this character will not long hold the field. When to this is added that we find side by side a growing attraction to the character of Christ and an increased hostility to him—the almost inevitable signs of a true unveiling of Christ—we may well thank God and take courage. If Christians were alive to this opportunity no sacrifice would be spared to lay hold of it.

Christianity on the Borders of Afghanistan

In September 1915, those who attended the Christian Convention at Sialkot, in North India, were privileged to witness an inspiring and unusual sight one Sunday evening in the baptism of six stalwart young Pathans—high-class Mohammedans from the borders of Afghanistan, and one of the number was from Kabul, across the boundary of that bigoted Mohammedan state.

This is the story that lay behind the baptisms:

One of the youths, named Fath, had often paused to listen in the past to the words of a Christian missionary preaching in the bazaars of his native city. He listened scornfully, and as he became bolder,

frequently interrupted the missionary to interpose some of the stock arguments against Christianity which he had learned from the Moslem mullahs. His pride increased as he felt that the discussions invariably terminated in a victory for his presentation of the case.

This continued until about three years ago, when a lady missionary from the United Provinces visited that city, and through the instrumentality of the local missionary, met the youth, and immediately felt led to work and pray for his conversion. She made no attempt to argue with him, but set about "loving him into the Kingdom." Her innumerable acts of kindness, born of believing prayer, at last melted the proud heart of the lad. He had met with no love like this among his own people, and he set himself with open mind to study the life of Christ in the New Testament, since he had learned that there alone could he find the source of the love that believes all things and hopes all things and endures all things. In June 1914, he declared openly to his friends that he was a Christian, and on account of his father's prominence the news was published broadcast in the Mohammedan papers of India. Naturally, every effort was made to draw him away from his new allegiance. He was subjected to persecutions of various kinds, large bribes were offered and strong temptations were brought to bear, all without avail.

The question of baptism was then brought up, and to the dismay of the missionaries (who knew the danger of delay in such cases), he declared that he was not ready, that he would not be baptized alone, that he must first go forth and win at least one "brother," and perhaps three or four. Thereupon the missionaries lost sight of him for a time, although every now and then tidings would come of his activities. Wherever he went, in the streets and the bazaars, in carriages and in trains, in drawing-rooms and in hotels, he was telling the good news to every one he met—old friends and acquaintances, policemen and train guards, coolies and beggars. Besides his Bible he carried about in his pocket a set of pictures of the life of Christ, and his theme was always the love of Christ. "My people are hungry for such love," he would say, "everything is gained by love." He attended the Sialkot convention that autumn and learned, in a new way, the value of intercessory prayer in Christian work. Persistently, prevailingly, in the face of much persecution, he continued "fishing for men." "Pathans," he said, "need persecution to make them value Christ and His salvation. What kind of Christian can he be who was never persecuted on account of his faith?"

At last, in September of 1915, he came once more to Sialkot, this time "bringing his sheaves" with him. With five of his friends, all sons of Mohammedans of wealth and importance, he stood forth in the little chapel to be baptized by the Church of Scotland chaplain. As the young men, with heads erect and faces radiant declared in confident, joyous tones their determination to live and proclaim the Christ life, there were tears in the eyes of many who witnessed the scene.

—Howard Walter— *Young Men of India.*

Home-Life in England and Egypt Compared

Mohammed Tewfik Diab, Professor of Education at the Egyptian University, writes in *The Egyptian Gazette* of his homesickness for the English home-life and draws the contrast in unmistakable terms. He writes:

"For an Egyptian student who resided five years in London, who attended more than a thousand lectures given by London professors,

who journeyed more than a thousand times from Addison Gardens to Tottenham Court Road, who felt more at home among London family circles than he does now, alas, in his own fatherland, who lived there amid learning and youth and golden dreams,—for him it is not easy to remember the dear noisy Metropolis, without giving a deep sigh.

"Not that he lost his sacred 'amor patriæ,' but rather that he became painfully conscious of the shallowness of ordinary Egyptian life. The unenlightened may hold this assertion to be disparaging to the Egyptian nation. But without confessing our defects we shall never get rid of them. They will remain like a moth gnawing silently but surely at the root of our national life. Patriotism is one thing, the harmful suppression of the solid truth, another. We cannot be wise lovers of Egypt if we all feel and share her complaints, and yet be careful never to disclose them. It is natural that in search of the cure of any disease, national or individual, we have always to state the symptoms before we can secure a remedy.

"If we cower before the misconception of a public opinion still in the making, we shall, doubtless, remain lagging behind the age. The noblest and most essential duty of every educated Egyptian is an immeasurable love of truth and a resolute courage to declare it. Without this, our beloved Egypt will yet grope in the dark. Again the hearts of our children are thirsting for moral guidance. Intellectual development by itself is not enough. We ought to sow the seeds of noble ideals in the souls of our little ones. We must familiarize them early in life with such great virtues as honesty, truthfulness, altruism and the discharge of duty. Thus we shall have large-hearted men, capable of high emotions, and able to lead a moral and valuable life. As to the improvement of our customs and social habits, it is sure to follow as a natural result, if we first lay stress on the mental and moral reform.

"But who are to be the pioneers of this most urgent reform? Surely not the illiterate old generation, to whom we certainly owe respect, but not always accord. It is the educated youth of our country who should be the leaders of this mental reformation, particularly those among them who have received their higher education in Western Universities. How many there are among us who received a sound education in Oxford, London or Paris, and hence who have seen and admired a great scientist, artist, thinker, writer or orator! But how seldom they try to make their nation fit to produce such high specimens of humanity. Egypt, we admit, is in her transitory stage. But if we entirely depend upon the slow and tedious process of natural evolution, unaided by our conscious efforts and definite direction, many hundreds of years will elapse before Egypt will become a civilized nation."

A Valuable Library in Cairo

Mohammed Bey 'Assef, whose death recently took place in Cairo, owned a library of 6,000 volumes, 4,000 of which are in Arabic, and 2,000 in Turkish and French. Among the former is the manuscript of a book written by the late Arabi, giving the history of the revolution of 1881 and 1882, which is the only copy in existence, and among the latter are over 1,000 books on Egypt, Turkey, and the Near East dealing with history, travels, the French occupation, the reforms introduced by the great Mohammed Ali, etc.

The late Bey had also an incomparable collection of Arabic newspapers similar to that sold some time ago by Philippe Effendi Frazi to the colonial institution in Hamburg, as well as the numbers of the Arabic edition of the first year of the "Official Journal," the like of which does not exist in any other library.

The End of Moslem Imperialism

The Continent (Chicago), expresses its opinion on the course of events as follows:

"The empire of Turkey is certainly shattered beyond repair. Neither present circumstances nor past history would support the expectation that any strong forces of state will ever radiate from the arid peninsula of Arabia. Persia is quite as unlikely to dominate, and of course Egypt is impotent. A Mohammedan power in the political sense is for all the future an impossibility. But whether this condition will tend to disintegrate Islam as a religion remains an interesting uncertainty. If the experience of Christianity were a basis of judgment, it would follow that disconnection from politics would be a great liberation and the occasion of spiritual revival to the faith of the Arab prophet. But Islam is so little spiritual and so largely materialistic that the collapse of its last remaining evidences of external power may prove a demoralizing blow. Only time can answer that, however, and it is enough now to note what is now sure—that Mohammedanism has undergone an absolutely upheaving crisis, and whatever it is henceforth will not be what it has been hitherto. To say the least, Christian missions to Moslem countries do not confront to-day in the religion of the Koran the utterly adamantine and unshakable institution it has been fabled to be of yore."

Old and New in Morocco

Mr. J. Haldane, a missionary of Mogador, writes:

"One day recently I left Mogador in the morning about 7 o'clock. In passing through the streets I could hear the throbbing of powerful engines grinding wheat, and, three hours later, I arrived at a country village where two women sat grinding their wheat in exactly the same manner as women did two thousand years ago when our Lord walked in Palestine. In the morning I walked through streets, which for cleanliness and solidity would bear comparison with those in England, and in the afternoon I was winding my way along serpent-like paths; the 'ruts' of by-gone generations. In the evening our room was lit up by a little torch fed by olive oil taken from the trees around us, but the night before, I had walked in streets lit up by electricity. If the dead of thirty years ago came back to the town it would be difficult for them to realise where they were, but if they returned to the country villages there would be nothing new to arouse their curiosity. The same old wooden plough with diverse 'yokes'; boys herding flocks with a few stones and a sling just as David did of old; the little groups of sleepy men under the vine and fig tree in the heat of the day—no change! In the town, it is true, 'the old order changeth, yielding place to the new,' while in the country there is nothing new to relate.

"From a religious point of view this contrast between town and country is also very marked; at least I have found it so in my talks

with men. A few weeks ago a young man told me he refused any longer to believe in the contents of his sacred book, while another said, 'I place no more confidence in our sacred book than in the newspaper you hold in your hand.' Instances could be multiplied to show that many have cut their moorings from the old faith and are simply drifting. It is a crime for Moslems to eat pork; yet not long ago I sat down with six Moslems, and while I talked of Christ and gave them tracts, one of them amused the company by 'bolting' slices of pork, and then making funny faces, either to show how much he relished it, or to show his contempt for any consequences which might follow his unlawful deed. In the country one cannot find any trace of this spirit, the people cling to their sacred book and religion with unshakable confidence. If the Moslem confession 'There is no God but God, and Mohammed is His prophet,' has lost its force, and falls on deaf ears in town, it is still pregnant with meanings to all whom we meet in country villages."

Slave-Dealing in Morocco

Miss A. C. Hubbard of Tetuan, writes on this subject:

"A number of our slaves are brought up from the South, but we are always told that a great many children come 'from the mountains.' I have often wondered what that meant, and how so many small black children should be brought from our own tribes. Just lately I was visiting in a house where they have recently bought a little girl, and she too came 'from the mountains' so I asked the mistress of the house 'What mountain?' And then I was quietly and quite naturally told what I had never thought of before and what seems too awful to write in bald English—that away there in the country they not only rear sheep and cattle for the market but also little children. Children are brought into the world, not to be loved and cared for and taught, but only to be sold for profit. That is Islam!

"But it seems in these days as though a spirit of democracy is creeping in among the slaves. In one house I was told they keep no slaves now because they have two big daughters, and whatever garments the father bought for his daughters, he must buy the same for his slaves, or they would not do their work. There is one holy (?) family in this town who have the special right of protecting runaway slaves, and of course it adds to their power to stand by their rights. So no girl, leaving her master's house and going to them for protection can be beaten. The slave cannot demand her freedom, but she can demand to be resold.

"An elderly widow lady here thought she heard noises in the street in the middle of the night, and as calling brought no answer from her slaves, she had to go herself to see what was wrong. She found the street door open and both of them gone. They had taken offence at something the mistress had said, and so had gone for sanctuary to this 'holy' house. Another girl had taken her master's children to the public bath. The children waited for the water to be brought to them, but the nurse failed to return. She too had gone off. In every better class house the complaint is of the independence of the slave. Surely this is a case of the 'worm turning.'

"Then there is a deeper sin that slavery brings of which I cannot write. May we each do our share in making known by word and deed the message of God's salvation, and the means which He has devised to bring back sinners, even Moslem sinners, to Himself."

Moslem Burial Customs

The *Wady el Nil* (replying to an article contributed by Dr. Abdul Aziz Nazmy Bey to the *Ahram* suggesting that Moslems should follow the example of non-Moslem communities in conveying their dead to the last resting place on carriages instead of employing men to bear the coffin on their shoulders): This idea deserves to be respected, but as the matter is important from the religious standpoint, I went this morning to the headquarters of the Grand Mufti of Egypt in Cairo and asked for his opinion concerning it. In reply to my question, the Grand Mufti declared that the proposal of Dr. Nazmy Bey was quite against the rules of the Sunnah, and did not approve of it at all. There is not the least doubt that the suggestion is harmful, and no man will allow himself to support it after hearing the fatwa of the Grand Mufti. . . . Dr. Nazmy Bey's idea is not unlike the proposal made, about twenty years ago, by Dr. Saleh Subhi in a book written by him in French, to the effect that the Moslem community throughout the world should arrange to visit the Holy Shrines in two divisions in turn, the inhabitants of the northern part of the globe making the pilgrimage one year, and those of the southern part in the following year.

Africa Thrice Traversed

According to the *African World* the Rev. J. du Plessis, the newly-appointed professor of the Theological Seminary of the Dutch Reformed Church, at Stellenbosch, has arrived back in Cape Town, after completing a journey on the continent, which no one before him has accomplished. Livingstone twice traversed the African continent south of the equator in one journey, but the honour of traversing the great continent of Africa three times in one journey has fallen to Mr. du Plessis. More than two years ago he landed on the Gold Coast and travelled to Kumassi, the capital of Ashanti. He visited the Nigerian areas, and thence travelled across the continent to Uganda and Nyasaland, where, since his visit in 1903, great progress had been made.

From Uganda he went westward, north of Lake Tanganyika, through Belgian Congo to the mouth of the Congo River. Then the traveller turned his face once again towards the east, and followed more or less the course of the Kassai, a great tributary of the Congo, and finally reached Elizabethville and Brokenhill, hear the Congo-Rhodesian border.

A Daughter of Mohammed

"Father Lammens," writes Joseph Offord in an article which appeared in the *Egyptian Gazette:* "whose essays upon Moslem history published in the journal of the (now closed) University of St. Joseph of Beyrouth, have often received notice in our pages, has recently produced an account of Mohammed's daughters derived from many years of research among the 'Sira' or 'Traditions' concerning the Prophet of Mecca.

"The most interesting story that he has been able to establish from the immense mass of evidently legendary matter, relates to Fatima, who married Ali, son of Abou-Talib, and whose children gave rise to the innumerable crowd of Seyyids and Sherifs who wore and still wear the green turban in the Moslem world.

"It is curious that of Mohammed's children only one daughter had any descendants, and we know so little about the prophet's family that its chronology is confused and consequently it is not certain whether the daughter whose name was Fatima was the eldest. From the records we possess it is, however, certain that Fatima was sadly neglected by her father and she appears to have enjoyed but little happiness. She had perpetual differences with her husband, and her biography as far as it can be traced is a melancholy story. She had but too much reason to regret her marriage, for Ali was gross, bald and unprepossessing in features. Worse than this, in some senses, he was very poor, and misery frequently reigned in the home. Mohammed left them for the most part alone, but their many quarrels caused him to intervene occasionally but apparently without much success. A better remedy would have been for him to have sent food and clothing. Grinding grain and baking bread wearied Fatima, and although slaves were plentiful the Prophet instead of lending one to assist his child composed a prayer for her benefit. Probably wearied of her life Fatima only survived her father a few months, her only consolation being, doubtless, that she, as a mother, had fulfilled the duty so dear to an Arabian woman of continuing her race."

German Protest Against Turkish Inhumanity

This extract from the *Spectators* will be of interest to our readers: "It is known that before the war there were Germans who were disgusted by the treatment of the Armenians by the Turkish Government. We are glad to learn that the acquiescence of the German Government in the recent appalling massacres—one of the blackest pages in German diplomatic history—has elicited a protest which proves humanity to be not yet extinct among educated Germans. The Basle *Nachrichten* (we read in Tuesday's papers) has published a memorial addressed by German Professors of Aleppo, in Syria, to the Berlin Foreign Office, declaring that 'the German name is likely to be eternally stained in the East unless we prevent our Turkish allies continuing their wholesale massacres of Armenians.' The memorialists mention that of two thousand to three thousand peasants conducted in good health from Upper Armenia to Syria, only about forty invalids survive. The others have succumbed under the blows of their gaolers, or to hunger or thirst. We do not imagine that the German Professors of Aleppo will get much change out of the German Foreign Office. None the less their protest deserves the widest publicity."

Hospital Ship for the Sulu Archipelago

The *Bulletin* of The Rockefeller Foundation gives the following interesting information:

For more than two hundred years efforts have been made, principally through the use of military force, to bring the Moros and near-related tribes who inhabit the Sulu Archipelago under the influence of civilization. The military forces of Spain were unable to accomplish this, and similar efforts made by the United States have not met with much greater success.

The Sulu Archipelago, composing the southern group of the Philippines, comprises a large number of small islands. These are inhabited by about 200,000 persons of the Mohammedan faith

who lead a nomadic or semi-nomadic life. The Moros since their entry into history have been a people apart. They were the famous Malay pirates that terrorized the Malay seas and devastated the Philippine Islands to the north. Religious hatred and war-like proclivities have separated the Moros politically and socially from the great mass of the Filipinos, who fear them. The Moro is a man of good physique, quick mind, and of active habits, but he has been so alienated from the rest of the world that the benefits of civilization have never reached him.

Preliminary investigation shows that the medical needs of the people are great. They suffer from malnutrition and from diseases fostered by filth and negligence. The common diseases are skin diseases in their worst forms, malaria, hookworm disease, dysentery, and some of the other preventable infections.

The Ifugaos, Kalingaos, Igorots, and other human-head-hunting tribes of northern Luzon, were brought to ways of peace largely by the contact established through medical relief. Similar work has been recently undertaken among the Moros, who live in the larger islands of Mindanao and Jolo, and it is believed that this effort will meet with the same success which has attended the pacification work of the tribes of Luzon. It is already possible for the doctor and nurse to go in safety to many places which it has been extremely dangerous for the soldier to approach.

Experience has shown that even the wildest of the Moros that have resisted all other means of contact may be appealed to through hospital relief. The medical work done in Mindanao is paving the way for establishing industrial and regular schools and indicates that these people, when properly approached, show a receptive attitude toward civilizing influences.

The establishment of dispensaries at different places in the Sulu Archipelago similar to those in Mindanao and Jolo is not practical because they would only reach a very small fraction of the inhabitants, who are scattered over a large number of small islands. But these people can be reached by a hospital ship. They are gregarious; they live along the littoral, and the markets where the people congregate at least weekly bring the whole population to the coast.

To meet the situation a hospital ship is being provided. The hospital ship will be expected to go from island to island meeting the people at established points, bringing medical relief to the afflicted, training midwives, giving general instruction to the people, and guiding and stimulating them to self-help. It is expected that this hospital ship will serve as an agency for the promotion of peace and order, that it will help to establish friendly relations between the Filipinos and their Moro neighbors, and that it will serve as an entering wedge for permanent civilizing influences. The International Health Board has entered into a co-operative arrangement with the Philippine Government for the equipment of such a ship and for its maintenance for a period of five years. It is hoped that by the end of this period the ship will have demonstrated its usefulness and that the work will be continued on the basis of Government and local support.

In the Western Sudan

The Sudan United Mission is carrying on work in the Eastern and Western Sudan among a number of tribes speaking different languages. Into three of these languages various members of the staff of the mission have now translated one or other of the Gospels,

and a version has been begun in a fourth as well. The three completed versions have been printed and published by the Bible Society for the use of the Sudan United Mission.

The four languages in question are those spoken by the Burum, Bachama, Jukun, and Munchi. These four tribes are all in Nigeria, in the region lying to the north and south of the river Benue, the largest tributary of the Niger.

With reference to the work in general among the peoples in this part of the world, it may be mentioned that the present war, by changing the governing power in the Kamerun Colony from German to British and French, may have the effect of stimulating the advance of the mission in a more southerly line across the continent. If the war adds to our Empire the responsibility of governing the Kameruns, may we not also say that it opens to us at the same time the opportunity and privilege of evangelizing it? Not in vain does the Scripture which we translate say to us, "To whomsoever much is given, of him shall much be required; and to whom they commit much, of him will they ask the more."

Islam in the Malay Peninsula

It was in A.D. 1276 that Mohammedanism was introduced into Malacca and the Census of 1911 gives the number of Moslems in the Straits Settlement and Federated Malay States as 673,159. Of these 633, 732 are Malays and the rest chiefly Indians and Arabs with a very few Chinese.

The Islam of the Malays is very superficial. Old Indonesian and Hindu gods are still sometimes worshipped under other names, and, in times of trouble especially, the Malay shows that he believes in devils, familiars, omens, ghosts, sorceries and witchcraft.

Very few understand the Arabic language in which the Koran is recited and although the Hadis or Traditions have been translated into Malay (which is sometimes called the "Esperanto of the East") they are seldom read.

The Malays belong to the Sunnite sect, but the majority of them are quite unaware of this fact!

Most of those who can afford it gladly make the pilgrimage to Mecca, some returning invalided to "live like leeches on the toil of their fellow men."

Polygamy is rare among the poorer Malays and the purdah system was not introduced with Mohammedanism, but the position of women is lower now than under the old Indonesian customary law.

Here, as elsewhere, Mohammedanism is antagonistic to national progress. Very little has been done towards teaching the "Better Way." Even the Roman Catholics, who have large numbers of adherents among the Chinese and Indians, have practically none from among the Malays and the work begun among men by the London Missionary Society was given up before there were any Christian Malay families.

The Church of England has a few Malay pupils in schools in Province Wellesley and since 1911 has had a medical mission for women in Malacca and another since 1913 in Singapore, but so far none of the few thousand Mohammedans who have been cared for have been baptised.

Thanks to the British and Foreign Bible Society, the American Methodist Mission and others, the whole Bible, the Book of Common Prayer and a few tracts have now been translated into Malay and

some Christian teaching has been given to a few of the Moslem Malays though most of the mission work carried on is amongst the heathen Chinese and Indian immigrants of this country.

It seems that existing missions need to be very much strengthened so that they may become less inadequate to the task before them. The cost of living is high in the Malay Peninsula and the climate tiring though not necessarily unhealthy.

Medical missionaries find most Malays willing to receive Christian instruction while ill but unwilling to go out of their way for teaching when cured. The white people are said to be clever with their heads and hands but stupid with their feet, and to reach and teach the Malays in their far away houses under the cocoanut trees careful and prayerful pedestrians are needed with plenty of pluck, patience and perseverance.

ELSIE WARREN.

Malacca, Straits Settlements.

Good News from Java

The following interesting news comes from Mesen, Solo, one of the smaller mission stations in Java:—

"The first of this month my husband baptised 19 adults, two of them were Chinese, the others Javanese. Since our coming to Solo three and a half years ago, my husband has baptised 72 adults and 29 children. It may interest you that about one-third of those baptised were won through colportage work, one-third by the work of the native Christians and about one-third by school and hospital work. The number of those baptised is still too small to form any definite conclusions about the effect of the different methods of work. Still for Java, where up till now the missionaries did not think of colportage work on a large scale, the result of this work in Solo will perhaps encourage them. This year we have already sold about 20,000 Scripture portions, tracts and Bible story books. Also of the evangelisation paper in Javanese there are distributed 7,000 copies each month in Solo, 24,000 each month in the whole of our Reformed Church mission. There is an ever-increasing number of Javanese learning to read, so it becomes most urgent to give them good books.

The Christian Church of Solo will publish a tract to be distributed at the next Mulid feast. A week before Mohammed's birthday there is always a kind of fair during 19 days. This year will be the year called "Dal," one of the eight years of which the Javanese cycle is composed. They have each their own name, and it is said that Mohammed was born in the year called "Dal." In that year tens of thousands of people are coming to town, and hadjis (men who have been to Mecca) from many other places are coming to pray in the mosque of Solo. (I suppose because this is the place of their native princes.) By distributing tracts on this occasion we can reach the most remote villages."

The Kennedy School of Missions

This school at Hartford, Conn., reports a prosperous year with the largest enrolment to date—forty-nine regular students and forty-nine others taking elective courses.

The school is strongest, perhaps, on its scholarly side, but it also gives practical guidance in evangelistic work, an experienced Christian worker, Miss Katherine Mills, the former head of a college for women

in Lucknow, being in charge of this department. It further seeks to prepare students physically for their mission in life. Preparation for specific fields, China, Latin-America, and Africa, is being gradually arranged for. The most elaborate courses, up to the present, have to do with Moslem lands. This is perhaps wise, since nowhere is opposition to Christianity so organized, disciplined and equipped as in Mohammedan countries. Professor MacDonald trains prospective and actual missionaries to Moslem countries in the Koran and the commentary of Baidawi on the Koran, in Mohammedan theological and other literature, in the Moslem canon law, in Moslem traditions, etc. One who had passed through his classroom would be well disciplined to counter the keen dialectic of the Mollahs.

A Mohammedan Benefaction for the Madras Christian College

After thirty years of quiet and unostentatious work, the revered principal of the Madras Christian College, the Rev. William Skinner, D.D., has received the Kaiser-i-Hind medal of the first class. The College Day Committee representing the past students of the college held a reception in honour of the event, and "one of the students who graduated this year," says *United India and Native States* for December 7, 1916, "presented to the Bureau a cheque for Rs. 1,500 to endow a medal in the name of Dr. Skinner to be presented annually to the student who heads the list of those who pass the B.A. degree examination from the college. The donor is a Mohammedan who had all his education in the college from the lowest standard upwards."

News of Roman Catholic Missionaries in Syria

A correspondent of *The Near East* gives reassuring news of the Roman Catholic missionaries in Syria in its issue for February 2, 1917.

"Some of the Jesuit Fathers who have been allowed to remain in the country are now the guests of the Maronite clergy. The few Jesuit Fathers of Syrian nationality, such as the well-known and erudite writer, Father Louis Cheikho, are living in the Maronite Convent of St. Antonius, but their state is said to be rather critical. The nuns of Syrian nationality belonging to French orders have been allowed to live in the well-known Convent of St. Charles, belonging to the Dames de Nazareth. The authorities have laid hands on the Jesuit College of Beirut, one part of which has been allotted to the Red Crescent Society, the other part having been turned into Government offices. The Church has not been interfered with. . . . . The fine library, however, has not been so respected, all the rare books of value having been sent to Constantinople. The Jesuits' printing press has met a worse fate, the machinery, type, paper, etc., the value of which is estimated at not less than half a million francs, having been confiscated. All the equipment and apparatus of the laboratories of the French College of Medicine and Pharmacy have also been confiscated and sent over to the Sultanish School of Medicine at Damascus. As to the rich estates owned by the Jesuits in the Lebanon and the Bekaa, these have been taken over by the Government and a German agricultural engineer has been appointed to undertake the management thereof.

"The Apostolic Delegate and the Syriac Patriarch have not been molested, except that the latter was called up before the Court Martial at Aley to answer certain baseless charges brought against him. The Syriac Bishop, however, together with thirty-five of the clergy,

was condemmed to death, as the result of false charges laid against them. The Maronite Patriarch is still living in his winter residence, El Diman. He, also, was twice called to the Seraglis at Beirut. The well-known Maronite Bishop of Beirut was condemned to death, but, on the intervention of the Apostolic Delegate, the death sentence was commuted to one of exile to Adana. The Greek Catholic Bishop of Acre was condemned to death; while the Bishops of Baalbek, Tripoli and Damascus, of the same community, were exiled to Adana."

The Moslem World in the War.

In the course of an article in the *Church Missionary Review* for January 1917, the Rt. Rev. R. MacInnes, D.D., Bishop of Jerusalem discusses the effect of the war upon the Moslems more especially of Egypt:

"Whatever be the causes of their attitude of mind, and they are many, the people of the East are not casting this evil in our teeth. They are not refusing to hear the gospel. On the contrary, I do not hesitate to say that missionary progress is being made in Moslem lands. I have asked many missionaries about it throughout the length and breadth of Egypt during this last year, and nearly all of them say the same thing. In the schools, for instance, there are, speaking generally, more pupils than ever before and the proportion of Moslems is high.

"Canon Gairdner, my colleague for so many years, has also written to a number of missionaries in the Moslem World beyond our own Jerusalem Diocese, and he tells me that the majority of his correspondents bear witness to the same effect. . . .

"If then, the preaching of the Gospel be not hindered now, while this evil is still raging on, how much more will it have a free course when the war is over and peace is once more restored."

A QUESTION BOX

CONDUCTED BY PROFESSOR D. B. MACDONALD, D.D.
Hartford, Connecticut

"*What was the origin and date of saint-worship in Islām? This question puzzles many workers in Egypt. What are the best books on it?*"

The belief in and the reverence for saints in the different Muslim countries is a continous tradition from the previous religions and practices, going back essentially to earlier saints and ascetics,—Christian, Buddhist, etc.,—to polytheism and to nature worship. Thus, for Egypt, Mr. W. R. W. Gardner has already drawn attention to the close parallelism of the Muslim hagiology to the lives, sayings and doings of the monks and hermits of the desert, given in such collections as "The Paradise of the Fathers." And there are elements in the legend of Ahmad al-Badawī which go still further back to the most primitive worship of nature and its reproductive forces. It is, therefore, impossible to give any date of origin. These attitudes and ideas were passed on under the surface by the masses of the people, and came out again to the light as the need for such concrete religiosity triumphed over the stiff monotheism of official Islam with its sharp separation of Allah from His world. And that triumph, in one way or another, came very early and even existed, I believe, in Muhammad himself.

The most fundamental treatment of the whole subject is still the second part (pp. 277–378) of the second volume of Goldziher's *Muhammedanische Studien* (Halle, 1890), unfortunately not yet translated. An interesting volume is "The Shaikhs of Morocco in the XVIth Century," by T. H. Weir (Edinburgh, 1904). R. A. Nicholson's "Mystics of Islam," in the Quest Series is an admirable sketch, and there are useful little books by Canon Sell, "The Religious Orders of Islam" (S. P. C. K.), "Sufiism" (C. L. S. I.) and by Claude Field, "Mystics and Saints of Islam" (Murray's Wisdom of the East Series). I may be permitted also to refer to my "Religious Attitude and Life in Islam," Lectures VI and VII and "Aspects of Islam," Lectures V and VI.

"*What is the* mihrāb *and how is the word used in the Qur'ān before Islām,* i.e. *in reference to Zakarīyā and Maryam? Is it the Jewish* haikal *where the Torah is kept in the synagogue?*"

Apparently it was not until the second century after the Hijra that the *mihrāb*, or niche indicating the direction of the Ka'ba, was introduced into the mosque, and there is evidence in tradition that it was at first regarded as an imitation of a Christian usage (Becker in *Der Islam*, Vol. III, pp. 392 f.). The following are the uses of the word in the Qur'ān: III, 32, of the place where Zakarīyā kept Maryam, usually interpreted by the native commentators as an "upper chamber" (*ghurfa*) whether in a mosque or not; in III, 33, of the place where Zakarīyā was worshipping; similarly in XIX, 12, Zakarīyā "came out to his people from the *mihrāb*," in which he had been worshipping; in XXXIV, 12, *mahārīb*, the plural, is used of palaces constructed by the jinn for Solomon, and in XXXVIII, 20, of a place

where David was, possessing walls which could be scaled. The commentators are very vague in their interpretations. The word, apparently, suggested to them a lofty place as an upper chamber, or an oratory, or a mosque, or a palace to be defended against attack.

When we turn to the lexicons for the old Arabic usage outside of the Qur'ān—*e.g.*, in old poetry and traditions—these interpretations are justified. Imr al-Qais has "*mahārīb* of chieftains of the Yemen" (*aqyāl*), meaning "palaces" or "castles," and both 'Umar b. Abī Rabī'a and Waddāh al-Yaman speak of "a lady (*rabbatu*) of a *miḥrāb*," meaning evidently a great lady, a dweller in a palace. Further, Waddāh says he had to mount a stair (*sullam*) to reach her; she was therefore in a *ghurfa*. Again, a tradition is quoted in which 'Urwa b. Mas'ūd goes to his people in at-Tā'if and enters a *miḥrāb* from which he looks out over them at daybreak and gives the *adhān*; again a *ghurfa* looking out over the city. In the parallel narrative in Ibn Hishām (ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 914, l. 8) *'ilīya* occurs instead. The word was used also for a *masjid* and for its *sadr*, or forward part to one entering; so, too, of the forward part of any *majlis*. For this a tradition from Anas is quoted that he disliked the *mahārīb*, *i.e.*, did not like to sit in the *sadr* of a *majlis* where he would be raised above the people; compare "the chief places in the synagogue." By metaphor from "palace" it was used for the den of a lion. Indeed, al-Asma'ī absolutely equated *qasr* and *miḥrāb* and explained the connecting link as the idea of loftiness. From this same idea it could, apparently, be used for a long neck (*'unuq miṣ'ar*). For the above see the *Lisān* (I, pp. 296 f.) and *Lane*, which do not always agree; also Schwarz's ed. of 'Umar b. Abī Rabī'a, No. 247, l. 2.

So far the situation is perfectly clear; but several questions remain. (i) How from the root HRB could such meanings come? The *Lisān* (I, p. 296, foot; not in *Lane*), on the authority of al-Azharī (d. A. H. 270) and with the backing of an anonymous line of verse, says that *ḥāraba-ba'uda*, "to be distant, far from," "separated from." Thence *miḥrāb* may mean a place where one is separated from others, and thus the upper part of a *majlis* or an upper chamber or, even, a guarded palace. But this looks very artificial and I would rather guess that *miḥrāb* is a loan-word, perhaps from South Arabia, and that it may have no connection at all with the root HRB. Al-Asma'ī quotes from Abū 'Amr b. al-'Alā (d. A. H. 150–1). "I entered one of the *miḥrābs* of Himyar," and says that he means a *qasr* or the like (*Lisān*, I, p. 296 foot). The *Lisān* quotes also as a well known phrase, "the *miḥrābs* of Ghumdān," the famous citadel of Sanā' in the Yemen. Compare, too, for the association with the Yemen the quotation from Imr al-Qais above.

(ii) How came the word to be applied to the niche indicating the *qibla*? With this joins (iii), What is architecturally the origin of that niche? I can only conjecture that the niche is the apse of a Christian basilica, vanished to a mere suggestion. As *miḥrāb* could mean the *sadr* of a *majlis*, it could certainly mean the apse of a basilica, and when the apse became only a niche it might retain its name.

I know nothing to connect the word with the *haikal* of a synagogue; but, then, we have almost no old Jewish Arabic.

For a more elaborate explanation—too elaborate for me—see Becker's article, referred to above and Rhodokanakis in the *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, Vol. xix, pp. 296 ff., and Vol. xxv, pp. 71 ff.

BOOK REVIEWS

The Treatment of Armenians in the Ottoman Empire, 1915-1916.

Documents presented to Viscount Grey of Fallodon, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, by Viscount Bryce. With a Preface by Viscount Bryce. London: T. Fisher Unwin, Ltd. Pp. 684. Two Shillings. 1916.

Our children do not need to read Fox's Book of Martyrs as we and our fathers did to be thrilled with the horrors and the glory of the early persecutions; they have only to glance through the 684 pages of Viscount Bryce's report on "The Treatment of Armenians in the Ottoman Empire, 1915–1916" to realize most vividly that even in this twentieth century Christians are suffering awful torture for their faith and are showing again that the martyr spirit is not yet dead. And Lord Bryce does not give us legend or hearsay, but facts supported by a mass of concurring evidence. Indeed, he shows us the original documents that reveal these facts. Of the character of this testimony, the vice-chancellor of Sheffield University, Mr. H. A. L. Fisher, says in an introductory letter, "I am impressed with the cumulative effect of the evidence. Whoever speaks, and from whatever quarter in the wide region covered by these reports the voice may proceed, the story is one and the same. There are no discrepancies or contradictions of importance, but, on the contrary, countless scattered pieces of mutual corroboration. There is no contrariety as to the broad fact that the Armenian population has been uprooted from its homes, dispersed, and, to a large though not exactly calculable extent, exterminated in consequence of general orders issued from Constantinople."

The contents of the volume are most clearly indicated by the "Guide to the Reader" inserted in the opening pages which includes documents such as: Letter conveyed out of Turkey in the sole of a refugee's shoe; News in German missionary journals suppressed by the German Censor; Van, a German Missionary's letter; Sassoun, the last stand of the Armenian mountaineers; How the Nestorian Patriarch fought for his people, letter from his sister; A Turkish "Government Orphanage," experience of another Danish Red Cross Nurse; Trebizond, wholesale drowning at sea; Trebizond, interview with the former Italian Consul-General; The butchery at Andora, the same witness; The concentration camps, two Swiss ladies; Births on the road, the fate of the babies and the mothers; Der-el-Zor, the exile station in the desert, by a German traveller.

As for the conclusions, which Lord Bryce says in his introduction he leaves to the reader to make for himself, there are three that stand out very clearly. In the first place, it is clear that the responsibility for these ghastly deeds rests, as Mr. Fisher says, in the letter already mentioned, "with the Ottoman Government in Constantinople, whose policy was actively seconded by the members of the Committee of Union and Progress in the Provinces. And in view of the fact that the representations of the Austrian Ambassador with the Porte were

effectual in procuring a partial measure of exemption for the Armenian Catholics, we are led to surmise that the unspeakable horrors which this volume records might have been mitigated, if not wholly checked, had active and energetic remonstrances been from the first moment addressed to the Ottoman government by the two powers who had acquired a predominant influence in Constantinople. The evidence on the contrary tends to suggest that these powers were, in a general way, favorable to the policy of deportation." Those familiar with Turkish character and the history of previous times of persecution of the Armenians, as well as with these recent events, speak more strongly regarding the responsibility of the Central Powers for this wholesale slaughter and deportation, for the method which the Turks have taken before when they wished to lessen the number of Armenians has been torture and massacre, not the carefully worked out plan which is sure to result in slow death, far worse than massacre. And now the Germans are using the same method of deportation on Belgians and Poles, though of course not in such a cruel fashion.

It is in the way in which the orders from Constantinople were carried out that the beastly cruelty of the Turk is shown. Some people think that Islam and hatred for Christianity is back of these events, but the evidence does not show that. To be sure the agelong enmity of the Turks for the Armenians which, though partly economic, has its roots in the religious difference between the two and the Mohammedanism of the ruling race, underlies the whole policy; and the utter cruelty of the way it was executed is a true fruit of that religion. Some "good" Moslem soldiers robbed, raped, starved and tortured hated infidels with a good conscience, while other Turks of the same faith were themselves hanged before their own doors because they tried to show pity to their suffering neighbors. In a recent Bulletin of the American Board, President White of Marsovan, where the Armenians suffered as severely as in any city, reports "that fully 80 per cent of the Turks of Anatolia are kindly disposed and deeply regret the Armenian atrocities." In this fact there is great hope for the future evangelization of the Moslems of Turkey.

The third conclusion from this evidence is the one referred to in the beginning, viz., that the martyr spirit is not dead yet. Instance after instance is given where men and women and young girls when offered the alternative of torture, dishonor, cruel death or the acceptance of Islam and safety, unhesitatingly took the former. Sixty-two girls from the American Board's school at Marsovan were started off into exile under the escort of "some beastly looking gendarmes," the account tells us. "At the edge of the city the procession was halted, and the police asked each of the young women whether she would deny her faith and become a Mohammedan to save herself from that terrible journey. All sixty-two refused. Two miles out on the road the same thing was repeated. All refused again." In this particular case the American teacher was able to save forty-one of these girls when they reached Sivas, the other twenty-one had been carried away, but in most such cases there was no such salvation for those who had refused to deny their Lord. In fact, according to the reports in this volume, very few of those who under such pressure became Moslems were really considered Moslems and left in safety; they only delayed the evil day a little. The only light one can see in this dark picture is the faith that by this awful suffering the loyal remnant may be prepared for signal service for the Kingdom of God.

ETHEL M. PUTNEY.

Cairo, January 1917.

Modern Movements Among Moslems. By Rev. Samuel Graham Wilson, D.D., New York: Fleming H. Revell Co. Pp. 285. 1916.

He who begins to read this book quickly has to acknowledge that its topic is truly taken and the discussion very timely. That Islam is moving, and that it does so over a great extent of the earth's surface is not to be gainsaid. Whether the tide is on its ebb or flow and what it brings of gain or loss—questions pregnant in their meaning for all Christendom—Dr. Wilson helps us to decide.

In the preface the author admits to a fascination for the study of the Moslem world; this with over thirty years of residence and travel in Mohammedan lands, has enabled him to place before his readers a work which is full of interest for the statesman, the historian, the sociologist, the theologian, and especially to him who should be something of all the preceding, the missionary. His short pithy sentences allow of a great deal of information being packed within less than three hundred pages, and for many a student of present day affairs, this book after reading, may well take its place upon the reference shelf.

The simple naming of the subjects of some of the chapters, which were delivered first as a series of lectures in one of our theological seminaries, will show why there was a demand for their amplification into their present form: The Revival in Islam; Islamic Missions; Modernism in Islam; Political Movements among Moslems; Political Reform in the Turkish Empire;—these words surely surmise the intellectual treat before all who read, and the spiritual stimulus to all who stand at Dr. Wilson's side.

One might wish that Dr. Wilson had allowed himself more of the rôle of a prophet, but prophesy is turning into history so rapidly these days that undoubtedly we will soon see for ourselves the results in Islam of many of these movements which are so impressively outlined in this book.

H. JAMES CANTINE.

Busrah, Arabia.

Revue du Monde Musulman: Publiée par La Mission Scientifique du Marco. Vol. XXX and XXXI. Paris: Ernest Leroux, Editeur. Pp. 435 and 483. 1915–16.

In spite of the war the editors of this review continue to give, although at irregular intervals, most important contributions which must not be neglected by any student of Islam. Vol. XXX contains the following articles: An elaborate study of Les Chiffres Siyak et la Comptability Persane by Kazem-Zadek. This occupies 53 pages of the text. Then follows a survey of the Moslem beliefs in every part of the world from Morocco to China and including newspapers published in Afghanistan, in India, in Persia and even in Constantinople and in the Isle of Mauritius. This survey occupies no less than 350 pages and it would be impossible even to summarise its contents. The present survey deals with the press especially during the early days of the war and the causes that led up to it. We have, therefore, a historical record of what Moslems considered the antecedents of the war. The rest of the volume consists of book reviews and notices of literature.

Vol. XXXI contains a monograph prepared by Paul Marty on Islam in Mauritania and in Senegal. A high tribute is paid to Governor General W. Ponty of French West Africa. There are studies in regard to the Derwish orders and their various sub-divisions

with thirty-two photographs of natives and of mosques. The volume gives a complete account of Islam in this part of the world and here one may find material for a careful study of the impact of Islam on African paganism.

S. M. Z.

Javaansch Bijbelsch Leesboek, Prijs F. O. 50. Pp. 467.
Hikajat Torat Dan Indjil, Tjitakan Jang Kelima. Pp. 190. By Dr. B. J. Esser, Zemdeling, Poerbolinggo, Java.

We are glad to call attention to these two publications which come to our hand from Dr. B. J. Esser, missionary at Poerbolinggo, Java. They are models of typographical work. The maps and illustrations are equal to the best work done in Europe, and one longs for the time when the mission presses of the Near East shall produce work as artistic and cheap for the Arabic reader. The former book is in Javanese and the latter in Malay.

S. M. Z.

Pathologie et Hygiene des Indigenés Musulmans d'Algerie. By Dr. J. Brault. Alger. Typographie Adolphe Jourdan. 1915. Pp. 196.

The first part of the book is devoted to a list of the chief diseases found in Algeria together with a brief résumé of their outstanding features. The statistics given are very meagre in most cases, and this prevents the author arriving at any very important conclusions. This part of the work is scrappy and dull.

The second part, though only of thirty-two pages, is much more interesting. It deals with the conditions of life of the Moslems and the general problems of sanitation and hygiene as presented by a Mohommedan country under European rule.

The author strongly condemns pilgrimages, both to Mecca and local shrines, not only on account of the opportunity they afford for the spread of infectious disease, but also because of the unhealthy conditions under which they are carried out and the excesses for which they are usually the occasion. Rhamadan he would approve of if it were not followed by Bairam. As to the conditions under which the people live, flies and filth abound everywhere, clothing is scanty and food is meager. Dwellings are small, badly built and ill ventilated, and combine with the close veiled life of the women to produce a very favourable medium for the growth and spread of disease. Child marriage and sexual excess are noted as tending to lower the stamina of the individuals and the race. However, he considers that the main obstacle to be overcome is the apathetic and fatalistic attitude of the people in the face of disease or the possibility of infection and sums up the problem in the following words: "Ce n'est qu'en relevant le niveau moral des indigenès, en leur donnant toujours plus de justice, en les préservant de l'usure (oeuvres de mutualité), en leur faisant perdre l'habitude du jeu, en les attirant vers un travail mieux retribué, qu'on parviendra à améliorer chez eux leurs conditions de vie." The day when this will come about is, he says, still far distant, and it will only come to pass through the co-operation of all concerned, and especially of the doctors. The possibility of education or Christian Missions having anything to do with hastening the coming of that day does not appear to be worth considering or mentioning.

NORMAN LEAK.

SURVEY OF RECENT PERIODICALS

A propos de la Foire de Fez. Louis Bertrand. *Revue des deux Mondes*, Paris. 15 November 1916.

A description, with many interesting touches, of the fair opened at Fez a few months after the Casablanca Exhibition. It shows how the French occupation of Morocco is introducing European elements among the population.

Concerning Mohammedan Women in India. The Lady Sydenham. *Women's International Quarterly*, London. January 1917.

An appreciation based on personal experiences as governor's wife in Bombay of the more educated Mohammedan women especially of Western India.

Spiritual Currents among the Javanese. N. Adriani. *International Review of Missions*, Edinburgh. January 1917.

An account of different educational and religious movements in Java. We note especially Section 3 on "The Sarikat Islam" and the postscript on "The Mardi Pratjojo Society" founded to counteract it.

The Turkey of Tomorrow. By a Thirty Years' Resident of Turkey. *Missionary Review of the World*, New York. December 1916.

A forecast by a missionary of 30 years' standing in Turkey: politically, commercially, educationally, and religiously. In every direction the outlook is hopeful in the author's estimation.

The Moslem World in the War. The Rt. Rev. R. Mac Innes, D.D. *Church Missionary Review*, London. January 1917.

German War Literature on the Near East. (With map.) Thomas F. A. Smith. *Quarterly Review*, January 1917.

"Two main trends of thought running through German war literature dealing with the Near East. The first is occupied with the subject of a European agglomerate stretching from the Baltic and the North Sea to Constantinople and thence dominating Asia to the Suez Canal and the Persian Gulf. The second dwells on this agglomerate as a wedge to split the British Empire."

German Intrigues in the Near East. H. Charles Woods. *Fortnightly Review*, February 1917.

A review of the development of German policy in Turkey and the Balkans since the accession of the present Emperor.

In the Western Desert of Egypt. *Blackwoods' Magazine*, London. February 1917.

An account by an eyewitness of the British expedition against the Senussi in the early part of 1916.

The Moslem Who Took a Christian Name before His Baptism. Rev. S. M. Zwemer, D.D. *Christian Intelligencer*, New York. January 17, 1917.

An account of the conversion and work as a Christian of an educated youth with whom the American Mission in Cairo had contact.

Realities of Missionary Life among Moslems and Christians in Western Persia. Rev. W. A. Shedd, D.D. *International Review of Missions*, Edinburgh. January 1917.

Suggestions as to the approach to the Moslem heart based on experiences at Urumia during 1915–1916, when the author acted as leader of those who stood between 25,000 Christians and death.

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THE MOSLEM WORLD

A quarterly review of current events, literature, and thought among Mohammedans and the progress of Christian Missions in Moslem lands

Editor: SAMUEL M. ZWEMER, D.D.

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IMPORTANT ANNOUNCEMENTS

Change of Office.—The Moslem World, which has been published by the Christian Literature Society for India in London for six years, has now been transferred to America. Beginning with January, 1911, it is published by the Missionary Review Publishing Company, Inc., with publication office at 10 Depot Street, Concord, N. H., and editorial office at 156 Fifth Avenue, New York.

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Rates.—Owing to increased cost of production, the subscription rates for the Quarterly are now $1.25 or 5 shillings a year and 25 cents or 1s. 6d. per copy.

Discontinuances.—Subscribers are requested to notify us promptly if they wish to discontinue receiving the Quarterly. It is hoped that each subscriber will secure several others to subscribe and thus help to increase the influence of the Quarterly and to spread interest in work among Moslems.

Change of Address.—When sending word as to change of address, please indicate old as well as new address and state if the change is temporary or permanent.

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THE MOSLEM WORLD

VOL. VII JULY, 1917 NO. 3

EDITORIALS

THE Alpine climber who is trying to reach the summit can scarcely see his goal except at certain fortunate moments in the upward path. What he does see is the stony path which must be trodden, the rocks and precipices to be avoided, the unending slope that gets ever steeper; he feels the growing weakness, the solitude and the burden, and yet the inspiration of the climber is the sight of the goal! Because of it all the hardships of the journey count for naught. The evangelization of the Moslem world is a task so great, so difficult and so discouraging at times that the upward look only can reassure the climbers. The evangelization of that world is not a phrase to be bandied about easily; it is a deep life-purpose, a work of faith, a labour of love, a patience of hope—long deferred but undying.

The present world conflict, both in its fundamental causes in the progress of events, and in its final issues, deeply concerns those who are labouring and praying for Moslems. There is, therefore, a special need and a special call for prayer.

We need first of all to pray for ourselves and for the churches of Christendom, lest our faith fail and our fears triumph,—lest we confound loyalty to the flag with loyalty to Christ, and so confuse issues and the results of the war in the Near East. We need to ask first of all that every one of us may be delivered from fear, from timidity. This has been one of the chief hindrances in the evangelization of Moslem lands. Mr. H. G. Wells, in his story "The Research Magnificent," says that the

struggle with fear is the very beginning of the soul's history. "Fear," he writes, "is the foremost and most persistent of the shepherding powers that keep us in the safe fold, that drive us back to the beaten tracks and comfort and futility. The beginning of all aristocracy is the subjugation of fear. . . . The modern world thinks too much as though painlessness and freedom from danger were ultimate ends. It is fear-haunted, it is troubled by the thought of pain and death, which it has never met except as well-guarded children meet these things, in exaggerated and untestable forms, in the menagerie or in nightmares. And so it thinks the discovery of anæsthetics the crowning triumph of civilization, and cosiness and innocent amusement—those ideals of the nursery—the whole purpose of mankind." This, however, was written before the war, and its Pentecost of heroism. Do we still need the message?

Fear on the part of a Christian is a denial of God. What kind of a God have we if He is not able to save us from those fears that cripple our lives and thwart our purposes, or make us diffident to undertake the enterprise of faith?

We must intercede for those lands where the door of access to Moslems was open before the war, and where it has not been closed in any way. Among these we may mention India, China, Malaysia and Egypt, together embracing more than one half of the entire Moslem world. The effect of the war in these lands has not been felt directly and on economic lines, but intellectually and spiritually hearts have been stirred and awakened. Never has there been so great a demand for the Word of God nor has Christian literature been more widely circulated. The very fact that Moslems have proved loyal to the British Government should make us also loyal to our King in declaring to them the message of His peace and pardon and eternal happiness through His love.

There is urgent need also for intercession that lands and hearts hitherto closed may be widely opened after the war. No one can be blind to the fact that the events which have transpired in Turkey, Palestine and Arabia

must have a deep significance for the future of the Kingdom. If the blood of the martyrs is still the seed of the Church, what a glorious harvest we may expect on the holy fields of Armenia and northern Persia where so many were massacred. In the new king of the Hedjaz, in the highway from Assyria to Egypt, in the new civilization that has come to Mesopotamia, we can already see something of the fulfilment of the glorious prophecy in the 72d Psalm and the 60th chapter of Isaiah. To read these chapters in the light of the present war is to strengthen our faith and deepen our purpose.

Such fields as Arabia, Palestine, Asia Minor, Syria, and Persia which were terribly undermanned before the war broke out, will make a new appeal of supreme urgency when the period of reconstruction begins. We will then face needs that are appalling in their extent and deep beyond measure in their pathos. Where the Armenian martyr Church has shed its blood, is now holy ground; and because of the sacrifice there will be unprecedented opportunities for the practical manifestation of the love of Christ to Moslems in social and spiritual service. In addition to all this there are the unoccupied provinces of the Near East and of Central Asia, a challenge for the venture of faith.

For the unoccupied fields we need men of the highest type—real pioneers, such as Charles G. Gordon once described in a letter to his sister written from Khartum, "Where will you find an apostle? I will explain what I mean by that term. He must be a man who has died entirely to the world; who has no ties of any sort, who longs for death when it may please God to take him; who can bear the intense dullness of these countries; who seeks for few letters; and who can bear the thought of dying deserted. Now, there are few, very, *very* few men who can accept this post. But no half-measure will do. . . . A man must give up everything, understand *everything*, *everything*, to do anything for Christ here. No half nor three-quarter measures will do. And yet, what a field!"

S. M. Zwemer.

Cairo, Egypt.

GOD'S CRUCIBLE*

The world is in the melting pot,
  What was is passing away;
And what will remain, when it cools again,
  No man may safely say.

But of this we may be certain—
  The Old Things have gone for aye;
The wood, and the hay, and the stubble, they
  Have passed in the heat of the fray.

And what be the things that are left us?
  "Gold and silver and precious stones"?
Or only a world into chaos hurled,
  And cluttered with brave men's bones?

Have we added aught to the fuel
  Of these fires of the wrath of God?
Have we had no part in the warping of heart
  That has drenched the earth with blood?

But, whatever our sins, the purging
  Has cleansed us and purified;
With heart and with brain we must build again
  Things of proof that shall abide.

Oh, see that ye build securely
When the time for building comes—
  With square-hewn blocks of Righteousness,
  And corner stones of Faithfulness,
  And girders strong of Righted Wrong,
And the blood of our Martyrdoms.

And—build on the One Foundation,
  That shall make the building sure—
The Rock that was laid ere the world was made,
  Build on Him, and ye build secure!

—*John Oxenham.*

* From "All's Well! Some Helpful Verse for These Dark Days of War." (Methuen & Co.)

THE TRANSMISSION OF THE KORAN*

Not many sacred books are better known than the Kur'ān, and only a few of them have more obscure origins. The outcome of early Kur'ānic researches was summarised in Hammer's well-known verdict: "We hold the Kur'ān to be as truly Muhammad's word as the Muhammadans hold it to be the word of God." This, however, has not been found in the last few years to be irrefragable. Scholars who like Nöldeke had believed that the Kur'ān was wholly authentic, without any interpolation—"Keine Fälschung; der Korân enthält nur echte Stücke"†—were obliged to revise their opinion and admit without restriction the possibility of interpolations ("Ich stimme aber mit Fischer darin überein, dass die Möglichkeit von Interpolationen in Qorān unbedingt zugegeben werden muss").‡

In England, where the views of Nöldeke had gathered considerable weight, no serious attempt was made for some years to study the subject afresh. It is, therefore, with warm welcome that one receives original and well-considered opinions such as those found in Hirschfeld's "New Researches," in St. Clair Tisdall's "Original Sources," and in D. S. Margoliouth's masterly publications.§ The first writer has suggested that the four verses in which the name "Muhammad" occurs were spurious.|| In the same sense many good works have lately appeared in France, the gist of which is embodied in Lammens's studies in the series *Scripta Pontificii Instituti Biblici*, and in the interesting book of Casanova

* Reprinted by permission of the author from *The Journal of the Manchester Egyptian and Oriental Society*, 1916.

† "Orientälische Skizzen," p. 56.

‡ "Geschichte des Qorāns," 2nd edit. by Schwally, 1909, p. 99, No. 1.

§ The accusation very recently directed against the Arabists of this country by a well-known writer, that they are still living on Muir, is a meagre tribute to the leading Arabist of Oxford and his colleagues of Cambridge; to take as examples some second-hand authors and scientifically worthless Islamisers is highly unjust.

|| "New Researches into the Composition and Exegesis of the Qorān," p. 189.

who has demonstrated convincingly the existence of many interpolated passages.*

We do not intend to offer in the present essay an exhaustive investigation of the sacred book of Islām, nor to dilate on minutiæ regarding a given verse in particular; we propose to write on something more essential and more general, on the all-important question of how the book called al-Kur'ān, which most of us read in a more scientific and comparative way than a Zamakhshari or a Baidāwi ever knew, has come to be fixed in the form in which we read it in our days.

According to Muslim Writers

The first historical data about the collection of the Kur'ān have come down to us by the way of oral *Hadīth*, and not of history. This is very unfortunate; because a critic is thrown into that medley and compact body of legends, true or false, genuine or spurious, which began to receive unchallenged credit at the time of the recrudescence of Islāmic orthodoxy which gave birth to the intolerant Caliph Mutawakkil (A.D. 847–861). The reader is thus astonished to find that the earliest record about the compilation of the Kur'ān is transmitted by Ibn Sa'd (A.D. 844) and by the traditionists Bukhāri (A.D. 870) and Muslim (A.D. 874). Before their time nothing is known with certainty, not even with tolerable probability, and the imposing enumeration of early commentators dwindles in face of the fact that two thirds of their authority and at least one third of their historicity are thrust back into the mist of the prehistoric; at the most they could have been some of those oral "Kurrā's" of whom L. Caetani has spoken in his "Annali dell' Islām."†

The most ancient writer, Ibn Sa'ad, has devoted in his *tabakāt*‡ a long chapter to an account of

* "Mohammed et la fin du monde," 2 ème fascicule, "Notes Complémentaires," pp. 149–156.

† *Cf.* The Moslem World, 1915, pp. 380, *sq.*

‡ Edit. Schwally, II, pp. 112–114.

those of the "Companions" who had "collected" the Kur'ān in the time of the Prophet. He has preserved *ten* somewhat contradictory traditions, in which he enumerates ten different persons, each with a list more or less numerous of traditions in his favour;* these persons are: Ubayy ibn Ka'b (with eleven traditions); Mu'ādh (with ten traditions); Zaid ibn Thābit (with eight traditions); Abu Zaid (with seven traditions); Abud-Dardā (with six traditions); Tamīmud-Dārī (with three traditions); Sa'ad ibn 'Ubaid (with two traditions); 'Ubādah ibnus Sāmit (with two traditions); Abu Ayyub (with two traditions); 'Uthmān ibn 'Affān (with two traditions).

On page 113 another curious tradition informs us that it was 'Uthmān ibn 'Affān who collected the Kur'ān *under the Caliphate of 'Umar*, and, therefore, not in the time of the Prophet. Another tradition reported by the same author, already noticed by Nöldeke,† attributes the collection of the Kur'ān in *suhufs* to the caliph 'Umar himself.

The second in date, but the most important, Muslim traditionist, Bukhāri, has a very different account in connection with the collectors of the Kur'ān in the time of the Prophet.‡ According to one tradition which he reports, these collectors were *four Helpers:* Ubayy ibn Ka'b, Mu'ādh ibn Jabal, Zaid ibn Thābit, Abu Zaid.§ According to another tradition they were: Abud-Dardā, Mu'ādh ibn Jabal, Zaid ibn Thābit, Abu Zaid.

On page 392 is found the famous tradition endorsed by many historians, and recently by the present writer also,|| on the authority of Nöldeke; it states that the Kur'ān was collected in the time of Abu Bakr, and not in the time of the Prophet:

"We have been told by Mūsa b. Ismā'il, who heard it from Ibrāhīm b. Sa'd, who heard it from ibn Shihāb, who

* *Cf.* Casanova, Ibid, p. 109.

† "Geschichte des Qorāns," 1860, p. 193.

‡ Bukhāri, III, p. 397 (edit. Krehl).

§ The same tradition is copied by "Muslim," II, p. 494 (edit. Dehli) and by "Tirmidhi," II, p. 309 (edit. Bulāk).

|| "Leaves from three Ancient Kur'āns," 1914.

"Quant à admettre une seule des traditions comme vraie au détriment de l'autre, c'est ce qui me paraît impossible sans tomber dans l'arbitraire."* Nöldeke, however, believes that Bukhāri is right and Ibn Sa'd wrong, because if the Kur'ān was collected in the time of the Prophet, why should people have taken such trouble to collect it after his death? ("Wenn sie aber den ganzen Qorân gesammelt hatten, warum bedurfte es denn später so grosser Mühe, denselben zusammenzubringen?).† But the question is, Why should we prefer at all the story of Bukhāri to that of Ibn Sa'd who is at least credited with priority of time? What should we do then with the other two traditions of Bukhāri which are in harmony with Ibn Sa'd in assigning the collection of the Kur'ān to the lifetime of the Prophet? What, too, should we make of the tradition reported by Ibn Sa'd to the effect that the Kur'ān was collected by 'Uthmān b. 'Affan alone, under the caliphate of 'Umar? What, finally, should we say about the numerous persons who in the traditions reported above alternate so confusedly in this "collection"? Which of them has effectively collected and which of them has not?

In examining carefully all these oral traditions coming into play more than 230 years after the events, at the time of those numerous polemics in which the Muslim writers were obliged to use the same weapons as those handled by the *People of the Book*, we are tempted to say that the same credence ought to be attributed to them as that which has long ago been attributed to the other *Isnādic* lucubrations of which only those who read the detailed oral compilations of Bukhāri and his imitators have a true idea. "La (critique) a mis en pleine lumière la faible valeur documentaire, sinon de la primitive littérature islamique, du moins du riche développement ultérieur, représenté notamment par le recueil de Bokhāri."‡ Another authorised writer§ has justly pointed out: "Les

* Ibid., II, 105.
† Geschichte des Quorans, 1860 p. 160.
‡ R. Dussaud, in *Journal des Savants*, 1913, p. 133.
§ Cl. Huart, in *Journal Asiatique*, 1913, p. 215.

détails qui entourent cette figure principale (de Muhammad) sont vraiment bien estompés et finissent même par s'effacer dans la brume de l'incertitude." Not many years ago similar honours of genuineness were conferred upon the imposing list of the so-called "early Arabian poems," but the last nail for the coffin of the majority of them has lately been provided by Professor D. S. Margoliouth;* and it is to be hoped that, until fuller light dawns, they will never rise again.

We quote, with some reserve, the ironical phrases of an able French scholar: "Nous l' avons noté précédemment: à côté des poètes, nous possédons la *Sira*, les *Maghāzi*, les *Sahih*, les *Mosnad*, les *Sonan*, bibliothèque historique unique en son genre, comme étendue et variété. A leur témoignage concordant qui oserait dénier toute valeur?"†

We can dispense with traditional compilers of a later date who throw more confusion than light on the theme, and who for the most part only quote their masters Bukhāri, Muslim, and Tirmidhi; Nöldeke has already referred to the majority of them,‡ and the critic who has time to spare, can easily examine them in his book. We must mention, however, the account of the author of the *Fihrist* who, although writing several years after the above traditionists, is nevertheless credited with a considerable amount of encyclopædic learning which many a writer could not possess in his time. After giving the tradition of Bukhāri which we have translated, he devotes a special paragraph to the "Collectors of the Kur'ān in the time of the Prophet,"§ and then proceeds to name them without any *Isnād*. They are according to him:—'Ali b. Abi Tālib, Sa'd b. 'Ubaid, Abud-Dardā, Mu'ādh b. Jabal, Abu Zaid, 'Ubayy b. Ka'b, 'Ubaid b. Mu'āwiah. These names occur in the list of Ibn Sa'd and that of Bukhāri combined; but the *Fihrist* adds two new factors: 'Ali b. Abi Tālib, and 'Ubaid b. Mu'āwiah.

* J.R.A.S., 1916, p. 397.
† Lammens's "Le berceau de l' Islam," p. 130.
‡ "Geschichte des Qorāns," p. 189, *sq.*
§ p. 27 (edit. Flügel).

The historian Tabari has another account:* " 'Ali b. Abi Tālib, and 'Uthmān b. 'Affān wrote the *Revelation* to the Prophet; but in their absence it was Ubayy b. Ka'b and Zaid b. Thābit who wrote it." He informs us, too, that people said to 'Uthmān: "The Kur'ān was in many books, and thou discreditedst them all but one";† and after the Prophet's death, "People gave him as successor Abu Bakr, who in his turn was succeeded by 'Umar; and both of them acted according to the Book and the Sunnah of the Apostle of God—and praise be to God the Lord of the worlds; then people elected 'Uthmān b. 'Affān who . . . tore up the Book."‡

A more ancient historian, Wākidi,§ has the following sentence in which it is suggested that 'Abdallah b. Sa'd, b. Abi Sarh, and a Christian slave, ibn Qumta, had something to do with the Kur'ān. And ibn Abi Sarh came back and said to Kuraish: "It was only a Christian slave who was teaching him (Muhammad); I used to write to him and change whatever I wanted." And the pseudo-Wākidi (printed by Nassau Lees||) brings forward a certain Sharahbīl b. Hasanah as the amanuensis of the Prophet.

A second series of traditions attributes a kind of collection (Jam') of the Kur'ān to the Umayyad Caliph 'Abdul-Malik b. Marwān (A.D. 684–704) and to his famous lieutenant Hajjāj b. Yūsuf. Barhebræus¶ has preserved the interesting and important tradition: " 'Abdul-Malik b. Marwān used to say, 'I fear death in the month of Ramadān—in it I was born, in it I was weaned, in it *I have collected the Kur'ān* (Jama'tul-Kur-āna), and in it I was elected Caliph.' " This is also reported by Jalālud-Dīn as Suyūti,** as derived from Tha'ālibi.

* 2, 2, 836.
† Ibid. I, 6, 2952.
‡ Ibid. II, 1, 516.
§ "History of Muhammad's Campaigns," 1856, p. 68 (edit. Kremer).
|| Vol. I, p. 14.
¶ "Chron. Arab," p. 194 (edit. Beirut).
** pp. 227 (edit. Jarrett).

Ibn Dukmāk in his *Description of Egypt,** and Makrīzi in his *Khitat,*† say about the Kur'ān of Asmā: "The reason why this Kur'ān was written is that Hajjāj b. Yūsuf Thakafi wrote Kur'āns and sent them to the head-provinces. One of them was sent to Egypt. 'Abdul-'Azīz b. Marwān, who was then governor of Egypt in the name of his brother 'Abdul-Malik, was irritated and said: "How could he send a Kur'ān to a district of which I am the chief?" Ibnul-Athir‡ relates that al-Hajjāj proscribed the Kur'ān according to the reading of Ibn Mas'ūd. Ibn Khallikān§ reports that owing to some orthographical difficulties such various readings had crept into the recitation of the Kur'ān in the time of al-Hajjāj that he was obliged to ask some writers to put an end to them, but without success, because the only way to recite rightly the Kur'ān was to learn it orally from teachers, each word in its right place.

At the end of this first part of our inquiry, it is well to state that not a single trace of the work of the above collectors has come down to posterity, except in the case of Ubayy ibn Ka'b and Ibn Mas'ūd. The *Kashshāf* of Zamakhsharī and in a lesser degree the *Anwārut-Tanzīl* of Baidāwi record many Kur'ānic variants derived from the scraps of the Kur'ān edited by the above named companions of the Prophet. The fact is known to all Arabists and does not need explanation.|| We need only translate a typical passage from the newly published *Dictionary of learned men* of Yākūt:¶

"Ismā'īl b. 'Ali al-Khatbī has recorded in the "Book of History" and said: "The story of a man called b. Shanbūdh became famous in Baghdad; he used to read and to teach the reading (of the Kur'ān) with letters in which he contradicted the *mishaf;* he read according to 'Abdallah b. Mas'ūd and Ubayy b. Ka'b and others; and used the

* Pt. I, 72–74.
† II, 454 (noticed by Casanova, p. 124).
‡ IV, 463 (noticed by Périer, "vie d' al-Hadjdjādj," p. 257).
§ Vol. I, p. 183 (edit. Baron de Slane).
|| *Cf.* "Fihrist," pp. 26–27.
¶ VI, pp. 301–302 (edit. D. S. Margoliouth).

readings employed before the *mishaf* was collected by 'Uthmān b. 'Affān, and followed anomalies; he read and proved them in discussions, until his affair became important and ominous; people did not tolerate him any more, and the Sultan sent emissaries to seize him, in the year 323; he was brought to the house of the vizier Muhammad b. Muklah who summoned judges, lawyers, and Readers of the Kur'ān. The vizier charged him in his presence with what he had done, and he did not desist from it, but corroborated it; the vizier then tried to make him discredit it, and cease to read with these disgraceful anomalies, which were an addition to the *mishaf* of 'Uthmān, but he refused. Those who were present disapproved of this and hinted that he should be punished in such a way as to compel him to desist. (The vizier) then ordered that he should be stripped of his clothes and struck with a staff on his back. He received about ten hard strokes, and could not endure any more; he cried out for mercy, and agreed to yield and repent. He was then released and given his clothes . . . and Sheikh Abu Muhammad Yūsuf b. Sairāfi told me that he (b. Shanbūdh) had recorded many readings."

A study of Shī'ah books reveals also some variants derived from the recension of 'Ali's disciples. They will be discussed in a subsequent article.

ALPHONSE MINGANA.

(To be concluded in October.)

A MARRIAGE IN FEZ

THE ceremonies of a Moorish marriage officially occupy about ten days—though for some months beforehand there are various lesser ceremonies. The part of the festivities to which we were initiated at the wedding of a daughter of a high government official took place at the house of the bride's mother in the night before she was to be taken to her husband's home.

On the preceding evening the bride and a poor relative who was being married at the same time, had been taken to the public baths by special attendants, called *engagaf*,* who are hired for these occasions and who have a semi-official standing; and during the whole of the following day, the two brides-elect were kept behind a curtain stretched across one of the rooms, sitting or lying on mattresses each enveloped in a white muslin veil. The bride was really the daughter of a slave woman but was in courtesy called the daughter of the lady-wife and treated in all respects as if she was so, her own mother keeping very much in the background.

The bridegroom was already married and had a daughter, herself married and the mother of a small son. We were told that it was his present wife who had advised his marrying again, and he was taking the new wife to a separate house which would be more conducive to peace than having both in one house.

A first wife has, by Moslem law, the right to refuse to have another wife in the same house, but as her husband can by the same law divorce her without cause shewn, she is careful not to insist on her right *too much* against his will.

The house was full of guests, women and girls, dressed in the best they possessed or could borrow or hire; guests who would remain for the whole ten days of festivities brought their children along with them and even a slave

* Sing. *engafa*.

to nurse them. The guests' dresses were of silk, or satin, or brocade, of very beautiful textures and colourings; some of them, very bright green, or rose, or yellow, were toned down by being covered with white outer garments of silk, muslin, or embroidered net, or gauze; their belts were bright with gold embroidery and sequins, and their headdresses were wonderful combinations of several different coloured silk handkerchiefs over a very large one of native weaving; in some cases a silk handkerchief was bound round the head with bands of gold and jewels—diamonds, rubies and pearls predominating. Pearl and emerald necklaces—the emeralds uncut and as big as pigeons' eggs—and massive gold bracelets and anklets finished off most becoming costumes. Each married woman had her face painted with rouge, with much more than was necessary to give a complexion, her lips blackened with walnut-juice and her eyelids with antimony.

The house was really a collection of buildings spread over different parts of a large terraced garden and one part of the house was connected with another by beautifully tiled walks and steps which were flanked by brightly painted wooden trellises separating off the garden beds.

In the garden grew lemon and orange trees, then in fruit still unripe, and some beautiful white jasmine. Each tiled walk had between it and the trellis a rivulet of running water which could be spread over the garden beds or confined to its course at the will of the gardener.

The rooms were lighted by many candles in large brass candlesticks placed on the floors which were of white marble squares set in patterns with small native tiles in between the squares. The terraces and walks were lighted by collections of little glass lamps fitted into what looked like huge cruet stands hung from the roofs of trellised cupolas and from the arches outside the rooms.

Both in the rooms and outside, wherever there was space for them, were mattresses covered with pretty chintzes, and outside one of the chief rooms were about half a dozen European chairs and lounges, which, with gilt four-post bedsteads in the rooms, were the only items of European furniture about the whole place.

We arrived at about 8 p.m. and found the great entrance court occupied by men musicians—mountaineers—who were, later, to take part in a procession through the chief streets of the city, when the *engagaf* and some of the men too, were to carry on their heads native tablets and bundles containing toilet accessories, cushions, garments, etc., to be used in preparing the brides for their marriage. The procession consisting of musicians with drums, fifes, trumpets, etc., women musicians, some of the slaves and retainers of the family, and the small brothers and cousins of the bride, did not start until 10 p.m. Many of the men and boys carried huge lighted candles of native beeswax some of which weighed five pounds each. This procession, which was simply a matter of show, left the garden by a gate to the west of the house, went round the streets and entered the garden by a house door which opened to the east.

When we had passed through the court where the men musicians were, and had come through a door and down a flight of steps we were in the garden proper and it was given up to the women and children. Here there were no men whatever.

In each room we found guests,—there must have been nearly a hundred. Some were sleeping, some dressing and some just hanging around doing nothing—a habit dear to the Moorish heart. On the mattresses outside the rooms several slaves and others were sleeping. One little boy of the house, a child of seven, said in a whisper, "If you'd like to see the brides in their corner come with me quickly, before they have time to know, or they might not let you in." The "*they*" were evidently the *engagaf* who sat on guard outside the brides' curtain, but on our coming they made no objection to our going inside to see the bundles which were much too shy to look up or answer when we spoke, though the one we knew, the daughter of the house, sat up and slightly moved her veil from her face when she knew that we were there. They would have been considered as sadly wanting in maidenly modesty if they had spoken.

After a while sounds of music were heard from the entrance court, and as many as could manage to get near doors and windows, where they could see without being seen, crowded to see the procession preparing to start, and it was a strange, weird sight, this torch-light procession! The trumpets were a remarkable feature; they were of copper, six feet or more in length and very heavy, their weight causing them to sway as they were blown; there was no attempt at any tune on them—simply a toot, toot, too-ot.

The processionists were away for just an hour—from ten till eleven p.m. They must have marched very quickly to the sound of the music as they covered a lot of ground for so short a time. When they reached the outer door on their return all the women of the house and the guests hurried into the rooms, the curtains were let down at the doorways and all candles were lit outside thus leaving the ladies where they could see without being seen: for through the muslin curtain all in the light outside was quite clear to them.

We stayed outside, as did the slave girls and any old women who did not need to hide their charms from the men. The procession came up the garden walks and stopped just outside the chief room where they knew the mistress of the house and the principal ladies were sure to be: the music was still being played and the candles were still alight—and dripping horribly too.

Those of the men and women who had on their heads the beautifully coloured bundles and cushions and little native tables of toilet *etceteras* danced and turned round again and again just before the curtained door so as to show off all the wealth they carried, and then the musicians formed into two irregular lines from the door down towards the garden and played with all their might while one of their number—a boy of about sixteen—dressed in a long, flowing, white garment, danced between or outside the lines and every now and then dropped, as if exhausted, and lay flat on his back till someone among the spectators placed a coin on the forehead when he would rise and continue the dance.

This sort of thing went on for, perhaps, half-an-hour, then the men continued their way through the garden and returned to their first station, whence, after a good supper, they went away, their work for the night being finished.

The women musicians remained in the garden, curtains were raised, lights returned to the rooms and ladies stretched themselves on the mattresses and tried, successfully it would seem, to sleep till the next item should come on.

By this time we were all very hungry for our invitation was to supper and we had been told by our hostess not to have supper in our homes before coming. We were five altogether and some of us were wise and had had a good tea late in the afternoon, but some had not had any food since lunch, so is it to be wondered at that when, now and again, we caught a snatch of conversation in English it seemed always to be about food?

As it neared midnight signs of a meal were evident. First large, low, round tables appeared and were rolled towards the room in which we sat, but to our disappointment, they rolled past it to the larger room in which were assembled the majority of the guests. However, just before twelve o'clock a table came our way and stopped with us and soon dishes were brought and we did full justice to a very good supper consisting of, first, mutton cooked with quince and honey; then, roast chicken; after that, very thin pastry—as thin as silk paper—and lastly a brown pastry sweetmeat with honey. All was eaten without knife, fork or spoon, just with the aid of the fingers, and both before and after eating, our hands were washed, as is customary, by water being poured over them into a brass basin by a slave girl.

After supper we took a stroll around the garden and found every mattress in and out of the rooms occupied by sleepers; no covering was needed, for the night was hot. The majority of them had their arms under their heads for pillows. We passed on to where, earlier in the evening, the men had been, and found the place deserted except for two or three men who had hung up a sheep and were now

skinning it for next day's use. "The third we have killed to-day," they said. (Since then the mistress of the house has told us that she had 12 sheep and 200 chickens killed during the wedding time and that, in addition, she had bought quite a lot of meat in the market.)

During our stroll around the only people we saw awake were the slaves and servants of the house who were very busy cooking and preparing food for next day; they had a very tiring time of it being busy day and night. The *engagaf*, too, were awake and employed in making ready part of the bride's toilet We saw them, sitting in the midst of the sleepers, cutting into lengths and settling skeins of black cotton which were to be plaited in with the bride's hair later on.

When it was nearly dawn all the guests gathered into the larger of the two chief rooms which was a beautiful square room with two very fine tiled pillars to support the ceiling: the pillars stood equi-distant from each other and from each wall. We were given a four-post bedstead, which stood in a corner beyond the pillars, from which to watch the next ceremony: the five of us had just room to double up our feet out of the way and sit native-fashion having of course taken off our shoes before we climbed up to our seat of honour. Our view was as if from an opera box as we sat framed by the festooned curtains of the bed. The other guests sat on mattresses on the floor against the walls and pillars, and the women musicians were on mattresses between the two pillars just in the middle of the room. To our right, close to the wall, were two heaps of silken cushions and in front of them two smallish mattresses; these mattresses, we were told, were for the brides to sit on while having their hair settled. The *engagaf* were just then bringing them from the room in which they had been hidden away since the previous night.

Soon there began to be heard, from outside the room in which we were, the peculiar cry of the *engagaf*—a weird wail with which they always introduce the brides to the spectators; an indescribable sort of noise which seems to be forced out from the throat while the breath is held in. To the unaccustomed ear it is wordless, but the ear accus-

tomed to it hears every now and then a mention of Mohammed and a prayer that God would bless him.

In a short time the two chief *engagaf* appeared at the door, each one leading a bride. The girls were quite covered with heavy veils of red silk interwoven with gold thread. The veils had been doubled lengthways and wrapped round the body, the front piece having the double just at the chest while the back piece came over the shoulders and the two were joined by pins in front about a finger length beneath the shoulders; the uppermost piece of the back double had then been thrown forward over the head and face. Under the veils the girls wore white dresses of silk with gold interwoven in a diamond pattern and in each diamond was an embroidered red rose; very little of these dresses shewed while the veils were still on the wearers.

The *engagaf* brought the brides into the room and seated them, still veiled, on the low mattresses with their faces toward the piles of cushions on which they then seated themselves, each one directly facing the bride who was, for the nonce, her charge. They then lifted the pieces of veil which covered the brides' faces and pulled them over their own heads so that there appeared to be two tiny tents of cloth of gold with a bride and an *engaga* in each tent.

After a few minutes the tents were rolled back from each pair of heads and the brides were revealed, but their faces were now covered with white muslin handkerchiefs which were tied under the hair and which covered the entire face with the exception of the forehead: then the assistant *engaga* took off and carefully folded the veils and brocade dresses and enveloped the brides in white muslin wraps embroidered with black silk, covering them in preparation for their hairdressing. Then the chief *engaga* took the covers off two brass bowls which had been in the procession round the city, and lifted from them bunches of herbs which were soaking in a mixture of orange flower water and rose water with musk and attar of roses; with the aid of these bunches of herbs they then sprinkled the heads of the girls with the sweet scented

water; that being done they combed the hair and plaited it in several small plaits entwining with each plait one of the lengths of black cotton which they had cut from the skins and prepared earlier in the night. The two or three front plaits on each side of the head were then tied together at the back and the hairdressing was complete. This plaiting of the hair is a ceremony of great importance and the plaits are not undone till the seventh day after the bride goes to her husband's house; then they are opened and the hair combed again by the *engaga* with much ceremony. As soon as the hairdressing was completed the *engagaf* changed places with the brides who were now placed on the piles of cushions facing the guests, the handkerchiefs were taken off their faces and the assistant *engagaf* proceeded to paint the cheeks with rouge on which they put a dotted pattern with white lead: then they put spots of *henna* on the palms of their hands and tied the hands up in muslin till the *henna* should dry in. While this was being done the two chief *engagaf* took round to each guest in turn the bowls of sweet scented water, and every guest dipped her fingers in it and then rubbed it either on her face or on her garments. This done they seated themselves near to their assistants who were painting the brides, but facing the guests, who, one by one, handed to them the presents which they had brought for the brides. Almost all the presents were for the daughter of the house; the other girl had only a very few and they of inferior quality and hers were not given her till the other's gifts had all been received. With each gift the donor handed to the *engagaf* a small silver coin and this was their payment for calling out the name of the giver and a description of the gift. The gifts consisted, for the most part, of dress lengths of silk, or brocade, or velvet, or of plain or embroidered silk muslin or tulle or net to make over garments to wear with the stronger materials; there were also some pieces of jewelry of value, and one or two gifts of money.

As each gift was handed to the *engagaf* one of them called out, in much the same voice as that in which the bride had been presented: first, an ascription of praise to

Mohammed; then, a description of the gift with the name of the giver; and then, a calling down of blessing on the son of the giver, if he or she had a son, or on the giver if childless, with a reference to what festivities might be looked for in that family—circumcision feast, or marriage, or whatever it might be—one "call" would run like this: "Praise to the prophet, etc., etc. Here is a piece of beautiful green velvet to make a dress! from Sidi Mohammed Fullan: May God repay him for it! There is his wife sitting in that corner! Yes, that one!" (Here the wife who is pointed out looks shy and others titter, which is just what the *engagaf* meant should happen.) "You see her over there! It will be repaid him when his son Omar is circumcised, if God will! Take note of it, ye who are in the room, and ye who are looking in from the outside, and ye who have pen and ink bottle! A piece of green velvet from Sidi Mohammed Fullan!" or, another call: "A *Louis d'or* from the bride's cousin, Lady Fatma! May God reward her for it! it will be repaid her when her son Drees marries, if God will! Take note of it ye who are in the room, and ye who look in from outside, and ye who have pen and ink bottle! A *Louis d'or* from the bride's cousin, Lady Fatma!" or, again: "A ring from her father's slave, Orange-blossom! May God reward her for it! it will be repaid her when she is with the prophet." (A slave not having any known relatives on whom blessing could be called is promised compensation with the prophet.) "Take note of it ye who are in the room, and ye who look in from outside, and ye who have pen and ink-bottle! a ring from her father's slave, Orange-blossom!" or, "A dress length of embroidered tulle from her father's friend, Sidi Abd-el-Kadar Ennejar! May God reward him for it! it will be repaid him when he marries, if God will! Take note of it ye who are in the room, and ye who look in from outside, and ye who have pen and ink-bottle! a dress length of embroidered tulle from her father's friend, Sidi Abd-el-Kadar Ennejar," and so on. They call on those who have pen and ink-bottle to note it because, as a matter of fact, a list of presents *is* kept so that a return may be made at first opportunity.

When the brides' hands had been tied up after the *henna* was put on and when all the wedding presents had been exhibited the two brides were wrapped up again in white muslin sheets (as they had been while behind their curtain all the previous day) and led to a corner of the room where they curled themselves up with their backs to the guests and remained, as if asleep, till required for the next ceremony.

While the hairdressing was taking place the musicians were playing on their tomtoms and singing to the music (?) and one of their young apprentices was dancing before the guests and kneeling down to each one in turn; the one before whom she knelt always gave her a coin which she took straight to the head of the set and placed before her; all the money went into the musicians' common fund to be divided between them later.

At the same time one of the more important slaves of the household was seated beside one of the pillars with a set of trays before her and was busily employed making green tea flavoured with mint for all the guests; a slave girl passed the little glasses round when filled, and another took round little half-moon shaped cakes of almond-paste.

As soon as the "calling" was finished the guests dispersed for a time, some to stroll in the garden and some to go to other rooms to chat and pass the time till the next item. It was now about 6 a.m. and broad daylight and yet the candles were kept alight just as when it was quite dark.

After half-an-hour or so two native tables, like little low tubs were brought and placed before the door of the room and the *engagaf* at the same time proceeded to dress the brides in much the same way as they had been dressed when they were brought to the door earlier in the morning. As soon as they had dressed them in the brocade dresses and veiled them with the cloth of gold, they lifted one into each of the little tub-like tables and seated them there: then four *engagaf* lifted one table, and four the other, on their shoulders and they began to dance round and round a little fountain in the middle of the court opposite the rooms in which they had their hair dressed. It looked

as if the brides were sure to be spilled out sooner or later the tables were jerked around so, and the brides' hands were useless to grasp the edges of the tables as they were still tied up in the muslin rags because of the *henna*. While they were dancing the boys who had gone with the procession during the night reappeared holding the great beeswax candles all alight though the sun was by this time well up in the heavens.

The house door was now opened and crowds of women and children came in to see the show; these, however, not being invited guests, did not enter the rooms but stayed in the courtyard and remained closely veiled all the time they were sightseeing. It is no uncommon thing for there to be among the sightseers those who have a deep interest in the marriage and yet are anxious that it should not be known that they are present; sometimes a supplanted wife comes to see the bride who has replaced her in her husband's affections; sometimes a friend or a slave has been sent by the first wife to take stock and to then retail to her all about her rival; and sometimes the sightseers come to see what they can pick up, for weddings are great times for thieves.

When the *engagaf* had danced round the courtyard many times with the tables on their shoulders they put them down on the floor and, taking the brides out of them, removed the heavy veils. The brides' faces were now bare but their eyes were tightly closed. They were then placed standing on chairs in the doorway of the room with their faces towards the court and one set of *engagaf* gathered round each bride and proceeded to recount her charms.

"Here she is! the ornament of this district! here she is, here she is!" "Here she is, a piece of fresh butter! here she is, here she is!" "Here she is, a piece of pure amber! here she is, here she is," and so on, and so on. When they had exhausted their praises they turned to the guests and declared that the bride was mortgaged and waiting to be redeemed. On this declaration being made the guests began to give silver coins to the *engagaf* who placed each coin on the bride's forehead and left it there

for a few seconds; then taking if off they would again say, "Here she is! mortgaged." And another guest would give a coin which would be placed on the forehead as the first had been. This went on (the coins being placed time about on each bride), till the *engagaf* saw that all who meant to give had given; then the brides were declared paid for and now free. They were then taken away by the *engagaf* and the night ceremonies were at an end. All the coins given to redeem the brides belong to the *engagaf*, of course, so they keep them in pawn as long as they can do so.

Our hostess would not allow us to come away till we had had a light breakfast consisting of two cups of black coffee and two of hot milk for each, and some tiny native biscuits; a heavier meal was to follow but we did not remain for it as we were by this time thoroughly tired and sleepy.

They told us that during the day they would all sleep as much as they could and so be ready for the next night's festivities when the brides were to go to their new homes.

We did not attend the wedding again, but, when it was all over, we called to see the mother and found that she still had with her the mother of the second bride. All the other guests had gone. They told us that the husband of the daughter of the house had bought for the "old" wife a pair of gold bracelets to appease her because of his having married again: "and," added the visitor, "perhaps she will stop cursing now!" A remark which, in itself, spoke volumes as to the reality of the "old" wife's wish that her husband would marry again. And then she said, to us, "Have you that in your country—that men take two wives?" "No," we said, "in our country the Government puts a man in prison if he has two wives." "Oh! how we wish we had that law," she said; but added, "However if that were so my husband would be all the time in prison for he has four, three and me, I'm the fourth!"

A RESIDENT.

ANIMISM IN ISLAM

(Hair, Finger-Nails and the Hand)

It must not surprise us that a great deal of animism and old Arabian superstition persist in Islam. The words of Frazer apply in this connection:* "As in Europe beneath a superficial layer of Christianity a faith in magic and witchcraft, in ghosts and goblins has always survived and even flourished among the weak and ignorant, so it has been and so it is in the East. Brahminism, Buddhism, Islam may come and go, but the belief in magic and demons remains unshaken through them all, and, if we may judge of the future from the past, is likely to survive the rise and fall of other historical religions." He goes on to say, "with the common herd, who compose the great bulk of every people, the new religion is accepted only in outward show, because it is impressed upon them by their natural leaders whom they cannot choose but follow. They yield a dull assent to it with their lips, but in their hearts they never really abandon their old superstitions; in these they cherish a faith such as they cannot repose in the creed which they nominally profess; and to these, in the trials and emergencies of life, they have recourse as to infallible remedies when the promises of the higher faith have failed them, as indeed such promises are apt to do."

What is here written is evident in many popular customs observed by the common people in Arabia and in Egypt, not to mention other Moslem lands as we shall show in the following notes on certain superstitions connected with hair cutting, nail trimming, and the use of the hand as an amulet, especially in lower Egypt. The field is so vast and investigations along these lines have been so meagre, however, that our readers must regard this paper as only a point of departure for further

*The Scapegoat, pp. 89–90.

study rather than a complete survey of even so small a section of a world of animistic practice.

Some writers go so far as to say that animism lies at the root of all Moslem theology. Simon states:* "The Moslem is naturally inclined to Animism; his Animism does not run counter to the ideal of his religion. Islam is the classic example of the way in which the non-Christian religions do not succeed in conquering Animism. This weakness in face of the supreme enemy of all religions and moral progress bears a bitter penalty. Among the Animist peoples Islam is more and more entangled in the meshes of Animism. The conqueror is, in reality, the conquered. Islam sees the most precious article of its creed, the belief in God, and the most important of its religious acts, the profession of belief, dragged in the mire of Animistic thought; only in Animistic guise do they gain currency among the common people. Instead of Islam raising the people, it is itself degraded. Islam, far from delivering heathendom from the toils of Animism, is itself deeply involved in them. Animism emerges from its struggle for the soul of a people, modernized it is true, but more powerful than ever, elegantly tricked out and buttressed by theology. Often it is scarcely recognizable in its refined Arabian dress, but it continues as before to sway the people; it has received Divine sanction."

According to animistic beliefs the soul of man rests not only in his heart but pervades special parts of his body, such as the head, the intestines, the blood, placenta, hair, teeth, saliva, sweat, tears, etc. The means by which this soul-stuff is protracted or conveyed to others is through spitting, blowing, blood-wiping, or touch. In all of these particulars and under all of these subjects we have superstitions in Islam that date back to pagan days but are explained by Moslem tradition and in some cases by the Koran itself. The personal soul in man has also a direct connection with his shadow, his dreams, his second self, or demon. In a former article we have treated the subject of the Qarina or *personal demon* at

**The Progress and Arrest of Islam in Sumatra:* Gottfried Simon, pp. 157–8.

some length.* The soul may escape through sneezing, yawning, etc. This is the reason for pious ejaculations by Moslems on such occasions. Soul-stuff exists in animals, certain plants, and these are therefore considered sacred. The Moslem doctrine of the soul itself, its pre-existence, its journey after death, the visiting of graves and the whole subject of demonology is full of animistic elements. It is against the dread of demons and with the object of protecting the soul and strengthening it against sinister influences that we have in Islam magic of every description.

In the disposal of hair cuttings and nail trimmings among Moslems to-day, and their magical use, there is clear evidence of animistic belief. People may be bewitched through the clippings of their hair and parings of their nails. This belief is world-wide.† "To preserve the cut hair and nails from injury," says Frazer, "and from the dangerous uses to which they may be put by sorcerers, it is necessary to deposit them in some safe place. In Morocco women often hang their cut hair on a tree that grows on or near the grave of a wonder-working saint; for they think thus to rid themselves of headache or to guard against it. In Germany the clippings of hair used often to be buried under an elder-bush. In Oldenburg cut hair and nails are wrapt in a cloth which is deposited in a hole in an elder-tree days before the new moon; the hole is then plugged up. In the West of Northumberland it is thought that if the first parings of a child's nails are buried under an ash-tree, the child will turn out a fine singer. In Amboyna before a child may taste sago-pap for the first time, the father cuts off a lock of the infant's hair, which he buries under a sago-palm. In the Aru Islands when a child is able to run alone, a female relation shears a lock of its hair and deposits it on a banana-tree. In the island of Rotti it is thought that the first hair which a child gets is not his own, and that, if it is not cut off, it will make him weak and ill. Hence, when the child is about a month old, his

*THE MOSLEM WORLD, Vol. VI, October 1916, No. 4.
†*Taboo and the Perils of the Soul*, pp. 274–275.

hair is polled with ceremony. As each of the friends who are invited to the ceremony enters the house he goes up to the child, snips off a little of its hair and drops it into a coco-nut shell full of water. Afterwards the father or another relation takes the hair and packs it into a little bag made of leaves, which he fastens to the top of a palm-tree. Then he gives the leaves of the palm a good shaking, climbs down, and goes home without speaking to any one. Indians of the Yukon territory, Alaska, do not throw away their cut hair and nails, but tie them up in little bundles and place them in the crotches of trees or wherever they are not likely to be disturbed by beasts. For they have a superstition that disease will follow the disturbance of such remains by animals. Often the clipped hair and nails are stowed away in any secret place, not necessarily in a temple or cemetery or at a tree, as in the case already mentioned."

It is remarkable that in Arabia, Egypt and North Africa everywhere this custom of stowing away clippings of hair and nails is still common among Moslems and is referred to traditions of the Prophet.

In North Africa a man will not have his hair shaved in the presence of anyone who owes him a grudge. After his hair has been cut, he will look around, and if there is no enemy about he will mix his cuttings with those of other men and leave them, but if he fears someone there he will collect the cuttings, and take them secretly to some place and bury them. With a baby this is said to be unnecessary, as he has no enemies—a surprising statement. Nails are cut with scissors and they are always buried in secret. One can see this superstition also in the account given of a charm described by Captain Tremearne* which consists of certain roots from trees mixed with a small lock of hair from the forehead and the parings of all the nails, hands and feet, *except those of the first fingers.* The fact of this exception clearly shows that we deal again with a superstition that has come from Arabia and Animism as we shall see later.

**The Ban of the Bori*, p. 57.

In Bahrein, East Arabia, they observe a special order in trimming the finger-nails and bury the discarded trimmings in a piece of white cloth saying *Hatha amana min 'andina ya Iblis yashud 'anna al Rahman.** They bury hair-combings in the same way expecting to receive them back on the day of resurrection. Concerning the thumb, they think it has no account with God because it can do no evil.

The belief that cut hair and nails contain soul-stuff and therefore may be wrongly used by enemies leads Moslems to hang their hair on the tombs of saints together with shreds of their garments, nails, teeth, etc. On one of the great ancient gates of Cairo, called *Bab-el-Mutawali*, this also takes place and one may watch a constant procession of men, women and children having communion with the saint who dwells behind or under this gateway and seeking through personal contact with the doorway by touching, breathing, etc., to carry away the blessing.

In connection with this superstition Rev. L. E. Högberg of Chinese Turkestan† tells of the popular belief that "during the last days, Satan will appear on earth riding on a *Merr dedjell* (Satan's mule). Every hair on the mule's body is a tuned string or musical instrument. By the music furnished in this way all the people on earth are tempted to follow Satan. Great horns grow out on their heads, so that they can never return through their doors. The faithful Mohammedan has, however, a way of salvation. He has carefully collected his cut-off nails, and placed them under the threshold, where they have formed a hedge, blocking the door so as to prevent the household from running after Satan!" Again the hair and nails have special power assigned to them as a protection for the soul against evil!

Many superstitions are connected with the paring of the nails some of which are doubtless from Judaism, others from paganism. According to the Haggadah‡ "every pious Jew must purify himself and honor the

*"O Satan, this is a safe deposit from us as God is our witness."
†*Central Asia*, December 1916.
‡*Jewish Encyclopedia*, Vol. ix, art. "Nail."

coming holy day by trimming and cleaning the nails beforehand. The Rabbis are not agreed as to when they should be pared; some prefer Thursday, for if cut on Friday they begin to grow on the Sabbath; others prefer Friday, as it will then appear that it is done in honor of the Sabbath. It has, however, become the practice to cut them on Friday and certain *poskim* even prohibit the paring of the nails on Thursday." Moslems also have special days for this purpose. The Jews believe that the parings should not be thrown away. The Rabbis declare that he who burns them is a pious man (*Hasid*), he who buries them is a righteous one (*zaddik*), and he who throws them away is a wicked one. The reason for this is that if a pregnant woman steps on them the impurity attached to them will cause a premature birth.*

In the order of cutting the nails the Jews have borrowed from the Zoroastrians while the Mohammedans seem to have borrowed from the Jews. According to Mohammed the order of procedure is remembered by the word *Khawabis* which indicates the initials of the names of the five fingers of the hand. First one is to attend to the *Khansar* (little finger), then the *Wasti* (middle finger), then the *Abham* (thumb), then the *Binsar* (ring finger), and last of all to the *Sababa* (index finger). The *Sababa* means the "finger of cursing"—compare the root *sabba*= to curse. Moslems generally follow this practice without knowing the reason of what they do. The cuttings of finger-nails are never thrown away but are either wrapped in a paper, buried under the door-mat or carefully put into a chink of the wall. Similar superstitions exist among the animistic tribes of the South Seas.

The custom connected with hair cutting or shaving and the trimming of the nails during the pilgrimage ceremony at Mecca is well-known. As soon as the pilgrim assumes the *Ihram* or pilgrim dress, he must abstain from cutting his hair or nails. This command is observed most scrupulously. We read in a celebrated Moslem book of law:† "The expiatory fine of three *modd* of foodstuffs is

*Jewish Encyclopedia.

†*Minhaj et Talibin:* Nawawi, p. 120.

only incurred in full when at least three hairs or three nails have been cut; one *modd* only being due for a single hair or a single nail, and two *modd* for two hairs or two nails. A person who is unable to observe this abstinence, should have his whole beard shaved and pay the expiatory fine." When the pilgrimage is terminated and the ceremony completed, the head is shaved, the nails are cut and the following prayer is offered:* "I purpose loosening my Ihram according to the Practice of the Prophet, Whom may Allah bless and preserve! O Allah, make unto me every Hair, a Light, a Purity, and a generous Reward! In the name of Allah, and Allah is Almighty!" After this prayer strict Moslems carefully bury their hair and nail trimmings in sacred soil.

The statements made in books of Moslem law leave no doubt that hair is considered sacred and may not therefore be sold or in any way dishonored. We read in the *Hedaya*, a great commentary on Moslem law:† "The sale of human hair is unlawful, in the same manner as is the *use* of it; because, being a part of the human body, it is necessary to preserve it from the disgrace to which an exposure of it to sale necessarily subjects it. It is moreover recorded, in the *Hadith Sharif*, that 'God denounced a curse upon a *Wasila* and a *Mustawasila*.' (The first of these is a woman whose employment it is to unite the shorn hair of one woman to the head of another, to make her hair appear long; and the second means the woman to whose head such hair is united.) Besides, as it has been allowed to women to increase their locks by means of the wool of a camel, it may thence be inferred that the use of human hair is unlawful."

In many parts of the world, especially in East Arabia, human hair is used by native doctors in medicine as a powerful tonic. It is generally administered by tincture or decoction. In this respect the hair of saints has more value than ordinary hair. I have known of a case where a learned *kadi* sent to the barbers to collect hair in order to prepare such a powerful tonic. Special chapters are

*Burtons *Pilgrimage to Meccah*, Vol. ii, p. 205.
†Hamilton's *Hedaya*, Vol. ii, p. 439, 1791.

found in lives of Mohammed the Prophet on the virtues of his *Fadhalat*, breath, blood, etc., including his hair. We read for example in the life of Mohammed by Seyyid Ahmed Zaini Dahlan:* "When the Prophet had his head shaved and his companions surrounded him they never suffered a single hair to fall to the ground but seized them as good omens or for blessing and since His excellency only had his hair cut at the times of the pilgrimage this has become *sunna*. So it is related in the *Mawahib* and he who denies it should be severely punished. And Mohammed ben Sairain relates I said to Obeidah Suleimani, I have a few hairs of the Prophet which I took from Anas and he replied, If I had a single hair it would be worth more to me than all the world."

Because of this belief hairs of the Prophet's beard, and in some cases of other saints in Islam are preserved as relics in the mosques throughout the world, *e.g.* at Delhi, Aintab, Damascus, etc. To give a recent instance, the population of Safed in Palestine, according to a missionary correspondent,† was all excitement in the early days of July 1911 because a veritable hair from the beard of the Prophet had been granted them as a gift by the Sultan. A Christian builder was engaged to restore a mosque of the Binat Yacoob, where the famous relic now finds shelter. The mayor of the city took the journey to Acre in order to accompany the relic to its resting place. The correspondent goes on to relate some of the marvels that were told as to the virtues connected with the hair of the Prophet. Twenty soldiers, fully armed, escorted the relic, which was carried on horseback by a special rider.

We pass on to superstitions connected with the human hand. Mr. Eugene Lefebure writes:§ "There never was a country where the representation of the human hand has not served as an amulet. In Egypt as in Ireland, with the Hebrews as with the Etruscans, they attribute to this figure a mysterious power. In the middle parts of

*Margin of Sirat al Halabi, Cairo Ed. 1308 A. H., Vol iii, pp. 238–239.

†*Der Christliche Orient*, September 1911.

§Bulletin de la Societe de Geographie d'Alger et de l'Afrique du Nord, 1907, No. 4.

France they have the hand made of coral, and the Arabs in Africa and Asia believe that the fingers of an open hand, like the horn, has the power of turning away the evil eye. This belief they have inherited from the Chaldeans and the Phenecians, which belief they share with the Jews. Whether it be the figure of a hand, or the hand or fingers taken from a corpse, he who possesses a talisman of this kind is sure of escaping bad influences. In Palestine this goes by the name of *Kef Miryam;* in Algeria the Moslems in our French colonies very appropriately named these talismans *La Main de Fatima* and from this source another superstition has been developed: the mystic virtues of the number five, because of the five fingers of the hand."† (Or its sinister power.)

"The hand of Fatima," says Tremearne, "is a great favourite in Tunis, and one sees it above the great majority of doorways; in Tripoli there is hardly one, and this is only to be expected, since the sign is an old Carthaginian one, representing not the hand of Fatima at all, but that of Tanith. It has been thought, however, that the amulet is so curiously similar to the thunderbolt of Adad, worn in the necklet of the Assyrian kings along with emblems for the sun, the moon, and Venus that it may be a survival of that."†

The hand is often painted upon the drum used in the bori (devil) dances in Tunis. It is also held up, fingers outstretched and pointing towards the evil-wisher, and this in Egypt, North Africa and Nigeria has now become a gesture of abuse. In Egypt the outstretched hand pointed at some one is used to invoke a curse. They say *yukhammisuna*, or "He throws his five at us," *i.e.*, he curses. Not only the hand but the forefinger is used for this purpose. It is therefore called, as we have seen, the *Sababa*. Goldziher gives many illustrations of how the forefinger was used in magical ways long before its present use in testifying to God's unity. A controversy arose in Islam very early about the raising of the hands in prayer. It is regarding the position of the hands that

†Mr. Lefebure in his short work, La Main de Fatima, has gathered all that is known on the subject.

the four sects have special teaching and can be distinguished. Who can doubt that this indicates also a magical use of the hands? The hand is widely used as an amulet against the evil eye. It is made of silver or gold in jewelry, or made of tin of natural size and is then suspended over the door of a house. The top of a Moslem banner is often of this shape. It is also worn on the harness of horses, mules, etc., and on every cart used in Alexandria we see either a brass hand or one painted in various colors. The following points are to be noted. It is unlucky to count five on the fingers. All Egyptians of the lower classes when they count say: "One, two, three, four, *in the eye of your enemy.*" Children, when at play, show their displeasure with each other by touching the little finger of their two hands together which signifies separation, enmity, hatred. The same sign is used by grown-up people also to close a discussion.

The origin of the stretching out of the hand with the palm exposed toward the person was explained by a Sheikh in this way. Tradition says that at one time a woman who saw Mohammed became very much enamored with his handsome presence and Mohammed fearing she would work some power over him, raised his hand (said to be the right one) and stretched it out to one side in front of him with the palm exposed toward the woman at the same time he repeated Sura 113. When he did this the covetous glance passed between his two fingers and struck a nail that was in a tree near by and broke it in pieces!

Finally we may add the curious custom also common in lower Egypt, of dipping the hand in the blood of a sacrifice and leaving its mark upon doors, foundations of buildings, animals, etc., in order to consecrate them or protect them from evil influences. In an article on the *'Aqiqa** we have already referred to the prevalence of blood sacrifice in early Islam, and its significance. The practice of dipping the hand in blood and putting marks on the door-post may go back to the story of Israel in Egypt, but the present use of the hand in this way is

*The Moslem World, Vol. vi, July 1916, No. 3.

mixed with all manner of superstitions. Who can unravel the threads in the tangled skein of Moslem beliefs and practices? There is much of Judaism as Rabbi Geiger has shown; more perhaps even of Christian ideas prevalent in Arabia at the time of the Prophet; but most of all Islam in its popular forms is full of animism and practices which can only be described as pagan in origin and in tendency.

S. M. ZWEMER.

Cairo, Egypt.

TANTA AS A MOSLEM CENTER

TANTA is situated in the heart of the Delta of Egypt. It is so unlike the modern cities of Egypt that it deserves to be called only a village, and, as the present population is somewhat above sixty thousand, is thus the largest village of Egypt. Tanta can well be called the heart of the Delta because of its location for it lies in between the two branches of the Nile and yet not on either branch. It is the capital of the large Gharbiya Province and is surrounded by farming land that is immensely productive and peopled by about two million Moslems. A wonderful system of canals waters all this section which has become one of the richest in all Egypt.

There are four lines of railways entering Tanta and over forty trains a day bring masses of people into the city. It is stated that over four thousand railway tickets per day are sold here and this number increases out of all proportion at times of the Moulid, or Fair, which, until recent years, was held here and was so largely attended. This Moulid has been well written up by Dr. Swan for THE MOSLEM WORLD (January 1914).

The real reason we claim Tanta as a Moslem Center is because we find here the tomb of one of the most famous of Moslem saints, Sayyid Ahmad al Badawi. He it is who has made Tanta famous. He furnishes us perhaps the best example of saint-worship that can be found in Islam at the present time and his glory does not appear to decline. We may almost say that he is the Heart of the people of the Delta and we can argue that the homage paid to him is nothing short of worship. Though he was only a wandering dervish of a common type whose mind was said to be attracted to God and absent from the body, yet he is worthy of our notice for his influence even to the present day. Very many of the four thousand travellers a day who enter Tanta come for the express purpose of visiting this tomb, and it is said to be the proper thing

for one coming for business to make it a point to go first to the Sayyid to ask his blessing on the undertaking. The Mosque which bears his name and which is built over his tomb is the most prominent spot in Tanta. I have heard a carriage driver rebuked by the occupants of his carriage for his even asking them where they wished to go, for he should have known that they wanted to visit the Sayyid first.

We may well inquire how it came about that Tanta is a Center of so much religious importance. Sayyid Ahmad was born in Morocco more than seven centuries ago about the year 597 A.H. and early migrated with his father to Mecca. Thence he came to Tanta, or Tandita as it seems to have been called then. He came in response to a vision which told him that he was to make his future home in Egypt and no other reason need be assigned.

It is related that, on one occasion, while still in Mecca, he stretched out his arm to Tanta and liberated a boy who had been caught in the horns of an ox, and that boy later became his successor. On his arrival in Tanta he is said to have spent forty days on a roof staring at the sun till his eyes became fiery and swollen, whereupon he called to a boy to bring him an egg to put on his eye and promised to give him in exchange his Green Palm Stick. The boy hurried to his mother and asked for an egg but was told that there was not one in the house. He sorrowfully told the stranger of their poverty and was told to go again and look in their roof room, which they did and found that it was full of eggs. This boy was Abdal Muta'al who had formerly been saved from the horns of the ox and who became the successor of Sayyid al Badawi. The fame of this wonder worker spread and he continued to make his abode in Tanta. The wildest tales are told of his *Karamat*, or miracles. Most of them were wrought for the benefit of Moslems such as the preventing of famines and healing of diseases. No story seems incredible for he had resources of power that other mortals do not have. Once he pointed his finger at a skin of milk that was being carried along the street and it burst at once. When reproached for causing this waste, he

pointed to a serpent that had run out of the skin and so he had prevented harm that might have resulted.

His fame grew till the time of his death in 675 A.H. and so he was buried as a Wali of God. His miracles did not stop with his death but rather increased till his tomb became a shrine visited from far and near. An Indian who made a visit to the shrine was asked how he had heard of the fame of this saint and he replied, that, in India, even the children swore by the name of Sayyid Ahmed al Badawi. Yet people will not confess that they pray to him but only that they beseech him for his aid by reason of his excessive merit. At any hour of the day people can be seen reaching up with their hands to the window of the tomb to take a blessing. The hold he has on the common people is wonderful. Many a Moslem who has ceased to observe the daily prayers still calls on Sayyid al Badawi. The grip of saint-worship is specially strong because saints are to be feared as well as loved. I have heard recently of a local saint whose special gift was his being able to see at an instant the secrets of the guilty heart and so how fearful a man might well be to stand in his presence lest he should be rebuked! How real and powerful these saints must be to their people! It is commonly said that at the time of the Moulid old Sayyid al Badawi leaves his grave and, with his Green Palm Stick, drives in from every direction people who thought to absent themselves from attending.

A volume of three hundred pages has been written by Al Khafagi under the title of Al Nafahat al Ahmadiya which is replete with the wonderful works of Sayyid al Badawi. The books contains legends of many interesting places in and about Tanta which must possess special charm to-day to visitors. The curious might wonder just where on this road to Qahara or in the village of Mahalla did the Sayyid manifest his power. Poems have been written in the Gafiya style using every letter of the alphabet as the final letter of the verses of each particular poem.

The Ahmadi Mosque, with its two slender, pointed minarets marks the site of the tomb of this famous saint and is the seat of the Ahmadi University to which it gives

its name. It is really a branch of Al Azhar and is under the same administration. Of course the Azhar is a more cosmopolitan institution because of the presence of foreign students but those who have visited the two institutions have probably found the Ahmadi a cleaner and more business-like place. The present student population is given as 1800. They are very conspicuous with their peculiar manner of dress and their bundle of unbound pages of books, and their eagerness for learning is a rebuke to us all. The mosque has not been able to accommodate all the school and an overflow building has been built with seventy rooms for classes. It is called the *Ma'had.*

There is an interesting line of bookshops near the Mosque which corresponds to the "Paternoster row" at the entrance to the Azhar.

No doubt much of the popularity of this Mosque-school is due to the presence of the tomb of Tanta's Patron Saint and so the place is a great rallying point for both the learned and the unlearned. Great and small meet together here. Outside are to be seen numbers of beggars and cripples who come in for their share of notice. The crowd opens up to make way for a teacher approaching with all the dignity that his flowing robes can add. A most important object at the Tomb is the collection box which is the receptacle for the money gifts of the devotees of the Sayyid. The making of vows to the Sayyid in times of trouble or need is said to be very common all over Egypt and so they come to pay their vows "in the presence of all his people." Here their greatest need is evident—a Mediator between God and man.

On the railway platform an old man sells for a piaster a kind of candy which he calls "A Blessing from the Sayyid." So none needs to go away without a Blessing. Is it possible that this is the only blessing they receive?

R. W. CALDWELL.

Tanta.

MOROCCO TO-DAY

A SHORT time before the war broke out some English tourists paid a visit to Morocco. Their interest in the country was aroused when listening to a missionary who gave an address on "Mysterious Morocco"; he pointed out to his audience that the country was in an appalling state of darkness and degradation. Our tourist friends arrived at Tangier, the climate they thought was excellent, the town was very attractive, in fact it was a desirable place to live in. They spent another day at Casabianca. To their surprise they found the place a perfect bee-hive of activity; large European shops displaying their goods, motor-cars, dog-carts and cycles rushing in every direction, while the majority of the people seemed to be following the Western mode of dress. The same surprise awaited them at Niazaqan, scavengers sweeping and watering the dusty streets, police at every street corner keeping order and settling disputes; beautiful villas that would bear favorable comparison with much of what they had seen at home. Saffi was also visited; there they found that the old town wall no longer marked the limit of the dwelling house for the European had gone outside its gates and commenced a new town on the hillside. After Saffi, Mogador was reached—the last port open to commerce on the coast; here they found lovely gardens of flowers inside the town wall, children playing on the grass, others passing through with books on their back making their way toward school while old ladies occupied the garden seats and sat quietly knitting. There was such a chasm between what they saw and what the missionary had told them that they had no hesitation in saying that he was guilty of gross exaggeration. They were convinced that Morocco had reached such a stage of development that the presence of the missionary was no longer required.

Their reasoning has two flaws: (1) You cannot judge of the whole by what you find in a part; an apple may have a rosy skin and yet be rotten at the core. Coast towns with their factory smoke, thumping engines and modern fashions may look very rosy and attractive but away in the interior of the country are thousands of villages and small towns blighted by centuries of darkness and the only thing that tells them the European has invaded their country is the occasional glimpse of a telegraph pole in the distance. (2) Painting the pump never purifies the water. The civilization of the coast towns may sweep through the whole country, in a few years' time it may polish the native, it is powerless to purify! The spread of Western ideas among the natives may bring its own benefits but it is the prerogative of the Gospel to penetrate to the deepest recesses of man's nature and there work a change which is radical and eternal. Therefore, the presence of the missionary is not only desirable, it is absolutely necessary; the Church has never been against the peaceful penetration of civilization but she can never accept it as a substitute for the Grace of God.

On some parts of the Morocco coast we have strong trade winds: for months the wind blows from the north-west, but when the rain season arrives it suddenly changes and blows from the south; this change of wind alters the face of the sea and little waves now run from south to north instead of from north to south. This change, however, is only on the surface, for the heavy under-swell pursues its old course unaltered. The south wind of European occupation is blowing over Morocco: in a few years' time the face of the country will be completely changed but the great undercurrents in the native heart which have rolled on in the same direction for centuries will remain untouched by the new wind which has arisen. These undercurrents are the spiritual forces of darkness and can only be counteracted and ultimately eradicated by the divine application of the missionary's message.

What then has been accomplished in Morocco by the missionaries during the last quarter of a century? Bear in mind that from Tangier to Ajadir thousands of villages

have not yet heard the message of Salvation; lack of men and money combined with native opposition has compelled us to confine our efforts to a few of the largest towns. But every mission house in these places occupied, has stood like a beacon light amid the darkness, throwing forth its rays far and beyond its own immediate circle. Every one of them has been and still remains a center of divine influence. If the work of these last twenty-five years be measured by figures it spells failure. Genuine conversions there have been, but they have been few and past records of the work could not be termed "flowing reports." We need not be discouraged, however, for the wilderness can only blossom after the hard plodding work has been accomplished. Moors have lain for centuries in the grave of superstition and darkness but the Master will surely call aloud "Come forth." Meanwhile He watches with keen eye while His servants roll away the stone. The plodding work of the first missionaries becomes the basis and preparation for the final manifestation of divine power, the work of the last twenty-five years will only be fully appreciated when it shines in the light of final attainment.

Let us look at the present situation of Morocco. When the Jews under Zerubbabel and Joshua returned to their own land after 70 years of captivity in Babylon they at once set to work and rebuilt the temple of God which had been destroyed. But the Samaritans in their hatred against the Jews succeeded in obtaining an edict forbidding the work of restoration to proceed any further. In a few years later, however, things took a change for the better. Darius came to the throne, Samaritan opposition was crushed and a fresh opportunity of renewing effort toward the rebuilding of the temple was presented to the returned captives. But alas! during the interval of Samaritan opposition many had lost their first love and enthusiasm, in fact they had become so engrossed in their own private affairs that they were no longer prepared to renew their effort on behalf of God's house. It was at this critical juncture that Haggai appeared upon the scene—when a new opportunity was being presented and

rejected—and as he looked upon the people engrossed in their own private affairs while the house of God lay a heap of ruins he probed them with this question "Is it a time for you, O ye, to dwell in your ceiled houses and this house lie waste?"

For over a quarter of a century a handful of missionaries have been trying to rebuild the house of God in this country, Samaritans have intervened and hampered the work again and again, on various occasions the missionaries have had to pack their belongings together and flee from their homes and work to a place of safety. At times it has seemed as though Samaritan opposition would triumph and the work of God so well and heartily begun, come to an untimely close. But Moorish opposition under the pressure of European influence has vanished like darkness before dawn. God in His providence has brought a new power to the throne, roads and railways will soon cut the country up and every facility for travel will be given. With the aid of a cycle or better still, motor-cycle, the dark villages will be within our grasp. In a word, Morocco in the near future will present afresh, an unparalleled opportunity for building God's house in a land that has remained in spiritual chaos and moral darkness for many long centuries. Is the Church of God willing to lay hold on the crisis, or has the long spell of opposition and apparent inactivity damped her enthusiasm, cooled her ardour and left her without fire, or has she become so burdened with the care of her own "ceiled houses" that the cause of the Moslem world passes unheeded? A fuller recognition of our responsibility in the Moslem world would react upon our work at home; by doing something to build God's house in foreign lands we would generate the force necessary to make our work a success at home. The Sus country south of Mogador is just emerging from its long centuries of seclusion and darkness. Many Europeans have bought ground there and are only waiting for the French authorities to say that the place is open to commerce. When that word is given, crowds of Europeans will flock south to exploit the new country. Will the Sus multitudes see

the best side of our Western life when this invasion takes place? Not unless a number of missionaries are dispatched at once to establish centers of Christian teaching. We must act swiftly with the least possible delay!

Finally, Morocco at no distant date will be entirely changed. A French officer told a friend of mine only a few weeks ago, that they hoped to do more for Morocco during the next five years than they had done for Algeria in the past fifty. This is the spirit of the age. Everything moves with tremendous rapidity. People cannot afford to wait now as they did one hundred or even fifty years ago. The whole of this country is being harnessed for work and with a view to material prosperity. Is our spiritual work to keep pace with their material progress? If the French even while passing through the throes of a great war are finding men and money to re-make the country why should the Church be found lagging behind in her attempts to change its spiritual chaos?

Where is the Haggai who will bring the Church face to face with the widespread ruin of Moslem lands? Where is the man who will open her eyes to the vast field of possibility which stretches before us?

Shall we say with Nehemiah of old as he gazed upon Jerusalem's ruined walls, "Our God will fight for us therefore we His servants will arise and build"!

JAMES HALDANE.

Mogador, Morocco.

EDUCATIONAL REFORM IN TURKEY

In the modern political contact of the Christian with the non-Christian world, the decisive factor has been that of education in its widest sense. The attitude assumed by the different Western Powers as to imparting it to their Oriental and African subjects has varied. Some have offered it freely, and others have only given such teaching as they must, in order to supply subordinate officials for the work of administration. But for a century or more we may say that the relation has been, on the part of the paramount powers that of dispensing such educational benefits as they deemed desirable and useful, while on the part of the subject races the attitude has been that of receiving it, at first unwillingly, but gradually with more and more appreciation of its value. In varying degrees the non-Christian nations have appraised the value of Western education and shown eagerness to acquire it, perceiving that it was this which gave the Western peoples their superiority. The beginning of this century shewed that the one Asiatic nation which had freely and unreservedly set itself to educate the people as a whole, was the one which had proved its fitness to take a recognised place in the world comity of nations. Japan has thus furnished the most effective of object lessons to Asia and also to Africa. The Chinese, the Indian, the Malay, the Persian, the Turk, the Egyptian and the Zulu are trying to realise or to revive a strong national life and grasping more or less the truth that this is possible only for the nation which finds itself by means of a true and effective popular education. For this reason, the elements of the problem of education in non-Christian lands are now demanding a new adjustment. In some places the demand of the people for education is beginning to outpace the supply by the ruling power, and when, after this war, the nations settle down to development under new conditions, we may be sure that the work of

providing education for the non-Christian world will have increased enormously in extent and complexity.

The bearing of all this on the missionary task leaps to the eye. One great differentiating mark of modern missions, as compared with ancient, is the fact that everywhere the missionary has been an educator, not only in religious truth, but in so-called secular knowledge, for he has come to recognise that truth is a whole, being based on the one supreme reality. In the development of modern missions, world knowledge has proved to be not only no hindrance but a positive help to the knowledge of God, and the school is almost everywhere the hand maid which goes before or follows upon missionary effort. But in almost all mission fields the fact is being forced upon us that, however the system of missionary education in any given country may be developed and increased, the demand for Western education on the part of the people themselves is increasing in a far greater ratio, and that it is leaving the missionary supply of education ever further behind. Moreover, the development of national consciousness in the countries of the mission field is tending to produce a demand that education shall be supplied in the form in which the people themselves desire it, and there are signs on their part of impatience with what others, even those better qualified to judge and more able to act, may think best for them. The question now being debated of a conscience clause for State-aided Mission Schools in India is an illustration of this tendency, and it illustrates the fact that missionary education has arrived at a new parting of the ways.* The weighty questions that have to be dealt with cannot be treated from any platform of racial superiority, or even superior knowledge and experience alone. We have learned that the education of the individual child must be based on the rightly interpreted facts of his mental equipment and development. And the education of the nations of lower culture must follow the same line. The task of the missionary is, cordially to take his share in aiding the

*See article by Mr. J. H. Oldham in *International Review of Missions*, January, 1917, pp. 126 ff.

mental and moral development of those who come to him for their equipment in knowledge, while making it his supreme business to impart to them that life in Christ which affords the only sufficient inspiration and control of the powers imparted by the schoolmaster.

These principles have a special application to the work of the educational missionary among Moslems. The arrested development of Islam has nowhere been more clearly evident than in its system of education, based on an effete, mediæval philosophy, overweighted with almost exclusive attention to a sacred language, badly taught to the majority of Moslems who do not speak it, and vitiated by outworn methods which hamper the teacher at every turn. Even in India where, under a Western rule, the Moslem community has had before it the object lesson of a Hindu majority rapidly progressing by its diligence in acquisition of Western education, it needed all the wisdom and tact and energy of Sir Sayyad Ahmad to impress on his fellow Moslems the imperative necessity of acquiring modern knowledge by modern methods. This energetic reformer succeeded to no small extent in infusing the desire for progress into his fellow-religionists, and the Anglo-Mohammedan College at Aligarh is a monument of his activity, though internal dissensions amongst Indian Moslems have prevented it as yet from developing into a Moslem University.

In Turkey for two generations past the need of educational reform has been theoretically recognised by the State, but during this period almost the only effective work in the production of modern teaching has been done by European and American agencies, mainly missionary. One need only instance the great Robert College at Constantinople.

But there are signs that the great war is creating a new situation, and the indications of activity in this direction deserve the most serious attention of the missionary body at large, if we would hold ourselves in readiness to cope with the tasks that the new movement for education will assuredly bring in the Near East. The abolition of the capitulations, that is, the treaties which gave foreigners

in Turkey the right of appeal to representatives of their own nationalities, instead of to the Turkish tribunals, is likely to be the starting-point of a new era in respect of education, as well as of other matters. Meanwhile the subjects of the Entente powers have no access to Turkey, but Herr Schulrat Eberhard, the principal of a German Training College, who has made a thorough study of education in the Turkish Empire, gives a clear and presumably trustworthy view of what is actually happening in the way of educational reform in the Ottoman State in a pamphlet entitled *Bildungswesen und Schulreform in der neuen Türkei* (Education and Reform of Schools in Modern Turkey). The writer is well disposed towards Christian missions, as is shewn by the fact that the substance of his pamphlet appeared in the *Evangelisches Missions-Magazin* (published by the Basel Missionary Society) for July and August 1916.

Herr Schulrat Eberhard begins by referring to the heterogeneous composition of the Turkish Empire; the cleavage between the Arab and the Turk, and between the Christian and the Moslem, and asks whether a modernisation of Turkish Islam is possible without Christianisation. He thinks it may be, if the old bad methods and faulty ideals are put aside and right lines are followed. The Moslem ideal of education, more especially in Turkey, has developed under the rule of a despotic government. Its basis is formal book-learning. A tradition says that "the ink of the scholar is not less valuable than the blood of the martyr" (that title being of course given to the soldier of Islam who dies in battle for the faith). Education is absolutely under the rule of the teachers and the tradition of Islam which, up to the present, have prevented anything like a free development. To a certain extent it may have been spiritualised by mysticism, but that influence has not developed sound principles or methods.

The golden age of Turkish education dates from 1451–1566, that is, from the time of the Renaissance and the Reformation in Europe. The opening of this period is marked by the Turkish conquest of Constantinople in 1453, and the reign of Sulaiman the Magnificent. But,

while the sparks of Greek learning lighted fires of progress in all directions in the West, when its teachers were scattered from Constantinople, the secular triumph of Islam set a seal upon the arrested and even reactionary development of its scholarship. Nothing that was produced during this golden age helped the progress of science and discovery, or of philosophy and morals, and little enough was of value for literature. The Shaikhul Islam was then, as now, not only supreme pontiff, but also Minister of Education, as well as Chief Justice. He decided equally what was to be taught to the educated youth of the Empire and how the law was to be administered for the people at large. Education was patronised by the State, and the Madrasa (school) was the gate to office, but it led nowhere else; and the gradual decay of the Turkish Empire till the middle of the nineteenth century was but the outward sign of an inner barrenness and lack of progressive knowledge. At length, in 1846, under the pressure of contact with the Western powers, which regarded Turkey as "the sick man of Europe," the Porte issued an Irada, or decree, embodying a comprehensive scheme of education. Not that the supremacy of the Shaikhul Islam and of the Ulamā (divines) under him was done away with, but a Ministry of Education was appointed with Directors and Inspectors galore. The schools were divided into lower, middle, and upper; the lower, or people's school being given a primary and a secondary department. The middle schools were divided into what we might call modern and grammar schools. The high schools included technical institutions, normal colleges, and the University of Constantinople. The elementary schools were to make provision for non-Christians, as well as for Moslems. In the middle schools uniform was worn by the boys and French methods prevailed. But almost all this reform and organisation was on paper. In 1913–1914 the 3,526 elementary schools had less than a quarter of a million boys and girls, in the proportion of five boys to one girl. Private schools, of which a good number would be missionary, had 125,000 boys and 61,000 girls. The middle schools were repre-

sented by 11 grammar schools with 6,200 pupils, and 69 modern schools with 10,600 pupils. Private schools of the middle grade are said to have had 12,600 children. The higher, or university education, numbered 6,677 students of whom 839 were normal students, 2,842 law students and 1,212 literary students.

Female education under State supervision has made some progress, and there is undoubtedly a feminist movement in Turkey which is doing its best to develop schools for girls. For instance, a National Girls' School was opened in October 1913, in a suburb of Constantinople, and the "Committee for the Defense of the Rights of Turkish Women" is endeavouring to promote domestic teaching, side by side with literary.*

The expenditure on education in 1908 is given as £400,000; in 1913 it was £1,000,000. The figures make one realise how slender the provision has remained since the middle of the nineteenth century; but also how the necessity of increasing it is realised by the Turkish authorities; and this apparently more since war began.

According to Herr Eberhard, the State system of education has swallowed up the purely Moslem schools; but there are schools in Turkey for various non-Turkish nationalities. Amongst these, the Armenians lead the way in education, both of boys and girls. Nothwithstanding the massacres of 1894–1896, 818 "Gregorian" schools outside the capital in 1901–1902 contained 60,313 boys and 22,380 girls under 1,597 men and 556 women teachers and the revolutions of 1908 for a time gave them an impulse; but what their condition must be now, since the Turco-German Jihād of 1915 may be imagined. The Greeks in 1905–1906 had 1,496 schools with 119,690 pupils. In almost every Greek settlement of over 500 persons in Turkey a school was maintained by the people. In fact it was largely the educational progress made by the Christian populations, together with the influence of Western educational missions that stimulated the Ottoman State to set on foot its own system of education.

* See the article on "The Feminist Movement in Turkey," by Miss E. D. Ellis and Miss F. Palmer in the *Contemporary Review*, June 1914, pp. 857 ff.

The foreign schools have been a very influential element in Turkish education, both by example and by the extent of their work. Shortly before the outbreak of the war they stood thus:

	Schools	Pupils
France,	530	54,000
England,	126	10,000
Russia,	105	12,000
Italy,	67	5,000
Total	828	81,000

All of which are now closed

	Schools	Pupils
America,	273	18,000
Germany,	23	3,000
Grand total of Foreign schools	1,124	102,000

The great majority of these schools were, of course, for the benefit of the Christian populations of Turkey. The author does not mention any figures which show what fraction of Moslems attended them, but he holds that they constituted a national danger to the Ottoman Empire, and were mainly subservient to foreign political interests, except of course in the case of the German schools. Hence Turkey did well to abolish the capitulations which placed foreigners under the jurisdiction of their own consuls and to throw herself into the arms of her own powerful and disinterested friend.

The new laws of December 1914, regarding institutions and of September 1915, for schools place all foreign hospitals, schools and other settlements under Government supervision. The teaching of Turkish is made obligatory; exercise of religious influence on those of other faiths is forbidden. Unsanctioned schools are abolished at two months' notice and new schools of foreign character may only be established for a foreign population.

What a task is hereby imposed on the Turkish authorities who, in addition to the crying need for progress on their own ground, have to provide substitutes for such a

mass of foreign teachers, is obvious. Herr Eberhard clearly enough indicates the difficulties that lie in their path, chiefly the inveterate tendency to begin from the top, and make a great show in the higher education, while neglecting the spade work of the elementary schools. He points out, too, that many economic and political reforms must go on side by side with it, if educational progress is to be sound; but he also believes that "the German bearer of culture will be able to understand the enigmatic soul of the East and hand in hand with the ancient teaching and tradition of the Orient, to develop a modern oriental civilisation." He hopes that the resistance of passive inertia to the Prussian-Pestalozzian ideal of popular education will be overcome by the faculty of sympathy and organizing ability of the German school mission and that the words of a writer of the early nineteenth century will be realised: "The stranger coming to Prussia, whoever he might be, realised that the life-breath of the bureaucracy rested upon the people, as once the spirit hovered on the face of the waters."

This view of the psychology of a worthy Prussian educationist is illuminating. But the practical problem at present for the missionary is to consider how he is to face the new intellectual developments of the nations. Japan is not an enemy, but a valued friend, and yet in Chosen (Corea) she has given ten years' notice to Christian Missions (mostly American) that, with a view to developing a sense of Japanese nationality among the people of Chosen, all religious instruction in State recognised schools must cease. Re-discussion of the conscience clause in state aided schools in India presents the same problem in another form. The missionary to Moslems, to Buddhists and to Hindus will have to think hard, and pray hard, that he may be able to solve it on the basis of faithfulness to his call from God, with due adjustment to the varying forms of new life among the nations.

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London.

ASK JESUS CHRIST: A MOSLEM TRACT

[The following is a translation of an Arabic tract, one of a series, printed and circulated by Mohammed Ali al-Maliji in Cairo 1916–1917. It shows the present attitude of Moslems in controversy. The reader will notice that there are no Koran references whatever. The battle-ground chosen by Moslems is the Gospel, the arguments used are those of the Unitarian. The result of such widespread, although wrong, use of the Scriptures need not alarm us but should be welcomed as a sign of the times.—Ed.]

Ask Jesus and He will answer you in truth.—Selections from the words of Christ showing who he is. Recently I read a leaflet by the Rev. Samuel Zwemer entitled, "The highest aim, the explanation of the beautiful names of Christ found in the Koran." In this tract he enumerates no less than 99 titles for el-Seyyid al-Messih, among them the following: God, The Lord, the Almighty, King of Kings, Lord of Lords, Creator of All, Lord of All, Son of God, Word of God, etc., and by these titles, taken from the Gospels, he intended to explain the titles given Jesus in the Koran. But as the honorable Koran is entirely free from calling any created being, however high his station or exalted his degree, by the names of the Creator, we can see that the object of this tract is nothing else than to deceive the ignorant. And as it would be a great sin to keep silent under these circumstances we follow the injunction of the apostle James (iv: 17) "Whosoever knoweth to do good and does it not, to him it is sin." In order, therefore, that deception may be laid bare and to establish the truth, we have addressed the following questions to the Christ himself that he may give us a final answer and confound those who dispute. Let us imagine him standing before us and that he is being questioned and gives the following answers:

(1) O Thou good Teacher and faithful Guide, who art Thou? (His answer): "Why callest thou me good? None is good save one, even God." (Luke 18: 19.)

(2) Who art Thou, O Jesus? (His answer): "Even that which I have spoken unto you from the beginning. I have many things to speak and to judge concerning you. Howbeit, He that sent me is true and the things which I have heard from Him, these I speak unto the world." (John 8: 25–26.) That is his word from the beginning, so that we know he was sent to carry God's message to the world and nothing else.

(3) Art Thou God? (His answer): "I am a man who hath spoken unto you the truth which I have heard from God." (John 8: 40.)

(4) Art Thou only the Son of God? (His answer): "Blessed are the peacemakers: for they shall be called the children of God." (Math. 5: 9.) "I am not yet ascended to my Father: but go to my brethren and say unto them, I ascend unto my Father, and your Father: and to my God, and your God." (John 20: 17.) It is evident from this answer that he is not the only Son of God but that all of us are like him in this respect. As the apostle Paul said: "One God and Father of all, who is over all, and in all, and in you all." (Eph. 4: 6.)

(5) Art Thou equal to the Father? (His answer): "My Father is greater than I." (John 14: 28.)

(6) Art Thou Very God of Very God? (His answer): "This is life eternal, that they might know thee the only true God, and Jesus Christ, whom thou hast sent." (John 17: 3.)

(7) Art Thou and the Father and the Holy Spirit one God? (His answer): "The Lord our God is one Lord." (Mark 12: 29.) Namely, there is no plurality of gods and no combination.

(8) Art Thou the King of Kings and Lord of Lords? (His answer): "Foxes have holes and the birds of the air have nests: but the Son of Man hath not where to lay his head." (Math. 8: 20.)

(9) Art Thou the Lord of Heaven and Earth? (His answer): "I thank thee, O Father, Lord of heaven

and earth, that Thou hast kept things from the wise and prudent, and hast revealed them unto babes: even so, Father; for so it seemed good in thy sight." (Luke 10: 21.)

(10) Art Thou the Prince of Peace? (His answer): "I came not to send peace, but a sword." (Math. 10: 34.)

(11) Art Thou the Prince of Life? (His answer): "And Jesus cried with a loud voice, Father, into thy hands I commend my spirit: and having said thus he gave up the ghost." (Luke 23: 46.) How can he be the Prince of Life under these circumstances?

(12) Art Thou Almighty God? (His answer): "Of myself I can do nothing." (John 5: 30.)

(13) Art Thou the Creator of All? (His answer): "Verily, verily I say unto you that the Son can do nothing of himself." (John 5: 19.)

(14) Art Thou omniscient? (His answer): "But of that day and that hour knoweth no man, no, not the angels which are in heaven, neither the Son, but the Father." (Mark 13: 32.) Namely, this information is only known to God and not to him at all.

(15) Dost Thou work signs by Thyself? (His answer): "I do nothing of myself." (John 8: 28.)

(16) By whose power dost Thou cast out devils, O Jesus? (His answer): "I cast out devils by the spirit of God." (Math. 12: 28.) "I cast out devils by the finger of God." (Luke 11: 30.) The spirit and the finger of God mean God's power.

(17) By whose power didst Thou raise Lazarus from the dead? (His answer): "I thank thee, O Father, that thou hast heard me. And I knew that thou hearest me always: but because of the people which stand by I said it, that they may believe that thou hast sent me." (John 11: 41–42.) Namely, he did not raise the dead until he had prayed to God and God had heard his prayer. God alone quickeneth and Jesus is the means only.

(18) Art Thou possessed of an efficacious will? (His answer): "I seek not mine own will but the will of Him that sent me." (John 5: 30.) ". . . not mine own will but the will of Him that sent me." (John 6: 38.)

(19) To what do these works of thine testify and who gave them to Thee? (His answer): "The works which the Father hath given me to finish, the same works that I do, bear witness of me, that the Father hath sent me." (John 5: 36.)

(20) Art Thou the Judge? (His answer): "If anyone hear my words and believe not, I judge him not: for I came not to judge the world but to save the world." (John 12: 47.)

(21) Art Thou the Creator? (His answer): "For in those days shall be affliction, such as was not from the beginning of the creation which God created unto this time, neither shall be." (Mark 13: 19.) You see how he teaches here that God only creates.

(22) Art Thou the Provider? (His answer): "Therefore I say unto you Take no thought for your life, what ye shall eat, or what ye shall drink; nor yet for your body, what ye shall put on. Is not the life more than meat, and the body than raiment?" (Math. 6: 25–26.) You see how he confesses that God only is the Provider of all.

(23) Art Thou the Forgiver? (His answer): "Father forgive them for they know not what they do." This is an evident proof that God only can forgive sins. (Luke 23: 34.)

(24) Art Thou the rich one and the enricher? (His answer): "Then Jesus sent out two of His disciples, saying unto them, Go into the village over against you, and straitway ye shall find an ass tied, and a colt with her: loose them, and bring them unto me. And if any man say aught unto you, ye shall say, The Lord hath need of them; and straitway he will send them." (Math. 21: 1–3.) This is a confession on his part that he was in need and the word "lord" means teacher or chief.

(25) Art Thou the Giver of all? (His answer): "Our Father which art in heaven, Give us this day our daily bread. (Math. 6: 9.) This teaches us that God only is the Giver and not Jesus.

(26) Art Thou the Bountiful? (His answer): "How much more shall your Heavenly Father know how to give good gifts unto them that ask Him?" (Math. 7: 11.)

(27) Art Thou worthy of adoration? (His answer): "Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God and him only shalt thou serve." (Math. 4: 10.) God only is worthy of worship.

(28) Who dost Thou worship, O Jesus? (His answer): "He that hath sent me is with me: the Father hath not left me alone; for I do always those things that please Him." (John 8: 29.) To please him means to worship Him.

(29) Canst Thou defend Thyself, O Jesus? (His answer): "My soul is exceeding sorrowful, even unto death . . . O my Father, if it be possible, let this cup pass from me, nevertheless not as I will, but as thou wilt." (Math. 26: 38–39.) That is, "I can neither help myself nor hold myself save as God wishes.

(30) Have we any gods save God, O Jesus? (His answer): "Call no one your Father (that is your God) upon earth: for we have one Father which is in Heaven; and do not call each other teachers for we have one Teacher, Jesus Christ."

[We may add that on the cover of the little tract are these words from John's Gospel: "Verily, verily, I say unto you, He that heareth my word and believeth in Him that sent me hath everlasting life."—ED.]

MOHAMMEDANISM IN DARFUR

FROM the religious point of view the country may be very roughly divided as follows: Eastern and Southern Darfur; El Fasher; Darfur proper, *i.e.*, Jebel Marra and the country lying W.S.W. of it and inhabited by Furs; and The Northern Hamitic Tibba tribes.

1. The Northern people of this group are nomad camel-owning Arabs. In the middle are sedentary tribes, of Arab indigence and mixed origin; while in the South the country is inhabited by Baggara Arabs.

These tribes are all Mohammedans, approximating fairly closely to their neighbours to the west of the White Nile. They are almost entirely uneducated from the religious point of view, and their code, such as it is, is a debased one. They have a considerable superstitious regard for the charms of fekhis, who make a good living out of their credulity, though most of these fekhis themselves are of a very low type, and many of them, though they pretend to knowledge, can scarcely read and write. On the other hand, they have very little fanaticism, and provided their religion is not interfered with, they show no aversion to either Christian or heathen. No Tarikas have made any headway to speak of among them.

2. El Fasher is one of the most cosmopolitan towns of native Africa, and this together with the enormous personal influence of the ex-Sultan, Ali Dinar, and his dislike of outside interference, has probably tended to prevent the undue growth of any particular sect. The principal *Tarikas* represented are, in order of size, Moghania (largely supported by "foreigners," *e.g.*, merchants from the river, etc.), Gadaria, Tigania, Ismailia, and Ahmedia. The Sultan, though calling himself a follower of the Tigania, allowed it to be known that he considered himself above any sect. About 1907, the Senussi sent a

khalifa to start a "Zawia" in Fasher, but except among the Kenin and Magharba colonists he has not great influence.

The Sultan, particularly in his latter years, posed as a leader of the faithful, but outside Darfur his pretentions were treated with scorn, and the people used to laugh at the idea of his trying to place himself at the head of a jihad (I speak particularly of his Kordofa neighbours). Even in Darfur his great authority does not appear to have owed much to his religious pretentions. He was an avowed dreamer of dreams, and encouraged others to be the same, particularly when such dreams represented him as the all-powerful monarch and close companion of the prophet. He was superstitious and put much faith in fekhis. For instance when disturbed in mind he would often send for four fekhis who would sit holding each one leg of the Sultan's angarib, and spit on him while uttering invocations. The walls of some of his apartments are covered with texts from the Koran.

As shown above there are no religious leaders of any great importance, and this probably largely accounts for the comparative absence of fanaticism. The comparatively small portion of the people who do not welcome the government occupation are, I think, more influenced by personal loyalty to the sultan, and the knowledge that their occupation (the amassing of fortunes from the weak) is gone, than by any religious animosity.

A strikingly notable outward feature, opposed to the custom of the ordinary Sudan Moslem, is the prevalent wearing of bright colours, or white edged with colour. Presumably court influence is responsible for this, as the colours grow brighter and more varied as one rises in the social scale, but whether it is a survival of heathen Fur custom, or originates in the comparative proximity to the colour wearing peoples of West Africa, I have so far been unable to discover.

3. The Fur are an indigenous tribe or group of tribes, inhabiting Jebel Marra and the country west of it. The royal family is of the Keira section and is Fur in origin, though considerably mixed with Arab blood. The Fur Sultans have in fact for the last two centuries boasted

of their Arab descent and endeavoured to trace it to the Beni Abbas. The first Fur Sultan to embrace Mohammedanism was one Suleiman about 1600. The Fur are now all nominally Moslems, but are a most debased tribe, and still preserve many heathen customs *e.g.*, ordeal by fire, etc. Even in court circles many of these customs existed up to the government occupation or until quite recently, in connection with such public events as the accession of a new sultan.

4. The northern non-Arab tribes appear to be of Tibba descent mixed with Negro blood. I have not seen their country yet and can say little about them. The sedentary tribes (Meidob and Gimr) are nominally Mohammedans but retain some of their old customs. The Meidob, for instance, have female "medicine workers." The nomad or semi-nomad tribes of importance are a wild lot becoming more so as they go north. The Zaghawa to the south are professed Mohammedans and the Bedayet would also call themselves so, but have little knowledge of Moslem tenets. A Guraani from the North, coming to Fasher would no doubt say he was a Mohammedan, but on returning to his country, if his father had died during his absence, he would probably marry his stepmother. These tribes in fact appear to have a veneer of Mohammedanism but retain most or many of their old pagan customs.

Mosques

There is a well built brick mosque in Fasher, though it was in a poor state of repair when the government arrived. The Cadi takes his cases there and it is used for Friday prayers, but is little frequented except on festival days. There is also a small brick mosque beside the tomb of Sultan Zaharia, Ali Dinar's father, to which Ali Dinar used to go, but I have never seen it used since his deposition.

So far as I know there are no other mosques in the country. Most villages have their "khulwa," a straw shed, partly used as a rest house and partly as a Koran

school, but not used for regular prayers. There are several of these in Fasher.

In the Fur country there are several ruined stone mosques, which would seem to point to a higher standard of civilization and stronger religious feeling under the pre-derwish sultans. So far as I know none are in repair or in use now. The population was of course much more dense in pre-derwish days.

CORRESPONDENT.

A *Sudan Times* correspondent at El Fasher sends the following information about the trade relations between Darfur and Wadai:

The route via El Fasher, being the nearest route from the seacoast to Wadai, was frequently used by merchants who traded with Wadai. During the rule of Ali Dinar, however, all merchants who passed through Darfur were forced to pay exhorbitant tolls to that despotic ruler. A toll of P. T. 230 was levied on a loaded camel proceeding to Wadai; while a loaded camel coming from Wadai was taxed P. T. 40 and an unloaded camel P. T. 20. In addition to these exhorbitant tolls which Ali Dinar used to levy on merchants passing through his country, he used to have their parcels of goods opened and searched. All silk stuffs and a certain kind of printed cloth, known as *abu kenar*, were commandeered by him for his own use, as he prohibited the use of such stuffs for apparel except by himself and his wives and children. In return for the goods thus commandeered he gave the merchants written receipts without, however, promising payment of price at any definite date. The merchants whose goods were thus plundered had to wait two or three months and sometimes as many years before receiving payment of even a part of their due. And woe to the man who dared to ask for settlement of his claim, for he would be in risk of forfeiting not only his money, but also his life!

These acts of injustice led many merchants to give up the Fasher route to Wadai, and they followed a more circuitous, but safer, and in the long run, shorter route, *i.e.*, via Nahud, Kafiakinji (Bahr-el-Ghazal) and Dar

Sula to Wadai. The journey from El Nahud to Abbesher, the capital of Wadai, by this latter route required four months, whereas the Fasher route took only thirty-five days. And, though it was not less expensive, because the additional expenses they had to pay for transport were more than equal to the tolls demanded of them by Ali Dinar, yet it was safer and was therefore preferred to that by Fasher. But the difficulties involved in both routes diverted much of the Wadai trade to the western coast of Africa and the Wadai merchants turned to Kanem and made it their emporium for purchase of European goods—Kanem being at a distance of sixty days from Abbesher.

Upon the occupation of Darfur by the Sudan Government, and the establishment of public security in that extensive province, trade began to resume its former channels, and the Wadai merchants are now coming to El Fasher to purchase such articles as sugar, soaps, dyed and printed goods, etc. The occupation of Darfur has, therefore, greatly benefited the people of Wadai. It is quite probable that the present facilities of transport between El Fasher and Khartum will induce the French officials in Wadai to adopt the Sudan route for their journeys to and from their country. The journey from Abbesher to Paris by way of Fort Lami and Brazzaville, occupies three months, whereas by the way of Fasher and Khartum it can be done in less than fifty-five days. The former route is not practicable during the autumn, whereas the Darfur route is practicable all the year round.

A CHINESE MOSLEM'S PERPLEXITY AND HIS WAY OUT

(Are There Beautiful Girls in Paradise?)*

In reading the Koran with a Chinese Ahung, a difficulty came up as to descriptions of the wonderful Gardens of Paradise. He said: "Most people think that there are beautiful girls there; is that the true teaching?" Let us study the question. Has not the Koran often been very wrongly understood? It clearly teaches men to study the Bible, and yet that fact is often forgotten. It warns against error and speaking of "Three Gods," or calling Mary the "Mother of God," or Jesus the "Child" of God, but it does not deny the true Trinity, or that Jesus is the Eternal "Son" of God, but this is not generally understood. It teaches that the Jews only in an "apparent manner" crucified Jesus, they did not really do so (He was crucified by the Romans, the Jews had no power to do it), but it does not deny the death of Christ. Yet this point is usually mistaken. We can only understand these difficult places by the light of the Bible, by taking the Scriptures as Mohammed commanded.

It is the same way with the many difficult words used in the descriptions of Hell and Paradise. Their true meaning can only be known by a study of the Bible. Mohammed came with a special warning to the Arabs, and to confirm the Bible, *not* to take its place. We must not then always take the words in their common and earthly meaning, any more than we do in the Bible; the "Song of Songs," or the twenty-first and twenty-second chapters of Revelation. Human words are used to express Divine thought, and deep spiritual truth. "The natural man receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God for they are foolishness unto him, neither can he know them, because they are spiritually discerned." (1 Cor. 2: 14.) Because of this, how few understand the

*See editorial note at end of article.

deep mysteries of "The Song of Solomon," or of Revelation, or the wonderful teaching of Christ as the "Bridegroom" with His people as His Bride or His Body. (Eph. 5: 25, 27, 32.) Only the full Word of God can reveal these deep mysteries, and explain the "Lamb" and the "virgins." (Rev. 14:1–4.) So we find that such words as "virgins," "black" (Song of Solomon 1:3, 5); "treasures," "pearls" (Matt. 13: 44, 46); "jewels," "living stones" (Mal. 3:17, 1 Pet. 2:5); "A Lamb," "undefiled," "firstfruits," and many other expressions have a special and deeper signification than is at first seen on the surface.

We may in the light of the Bible apply this thought to a study of what the Koran teaches of Paradise. It has been explained in a gross material way, but the study of the words will show that, like the words of the Bible, a deeper and purer spiritual meaning may have been intended. In fact all who believe the Koran, and who would be loyal to the prophet of Arabia, must explain his words in the light of the Scriptures which he came to confirm. Koran 6:154; 34:6; 46:12.

Some Moslems have seen this truth. In Lane's "Modern Egyptians," 1. p. 75 note, we read: "A Muslim of some learning professed to me that he considered the descriptions of Paradise in the Koran to be, in a great measure, figurative; like those said he, 'in the book of the Revelation of St. John'; and he assured me that many learned Muslims were of the same opinion."

This Chinese Ahung who is studying with me knows Arabic well, having spent some years in Cairo and Constantinople. He said he believed the figurative or symbolic interpretation was right, and that the exact meaning of the words that he had learned in Cairo, made that clear. Yet so many, he said, took the other view, and that made many difficulties. He said: "Many of our Chinese believe that the greatest joy in Paradise will be that of seeing the face of the True Lord." That is indeed a high ideal. He translated for me the most important passages, giving the exact and literal meaning of each Arabic word, in Chinese, as he understood it.

However much this may vary from common English translations, it is interesting as a Chinese interpretation of these much slandered descriptions of the Paradise of the Koran. The translation which he gives, and which removes much of his perplexity, may lead to further study of the these important passages. They are as follows:—

GOOD MEN AND WOMEN BOTH IN PARADISE.

Chap. 3:196 (Rodwell p. 404). Their Lord answered to them: I will not suffer the work of any one that worketh to be lost whether male or female—I will surely cause them to ascend and to enter into gardens through which flow the rivers; a recompense from near to God; and the recompense near to God is most satisfying. (Rev. 42:i, also speaks of the "river.")

This shows that the blessings of Paradise are not confined to men.

GOOD WIVES IN THE ETERNAL ABODE.

Chap. 13:23: Gardens of Eden (eternal abode) into which they shall enter and with them upright ones from among their fathers and their wives, and their descendants. (1 Cor. 7: 16.) Chap. 40:8: O Lord, make them enter into Gardens of Eden, which Thou hast promised to them and to the upright ones from among their fathers, their wives, and their children. (Acts 2:39.)

This shows that believing wives will be with their husbands in Paradise. They will be made perfectly pure, not like the relationships of earth, but as the angels of heaven. (Matt. 22:30.)

THE PURE RELATIONSHIPS IN HEAVEN.

Chap. 2:23: And their wives (lit. "to them wives," that is, their own wives, not some other damsels given to them) in that place shall be pure, and with themselves shall abide therein forever. (Eph. 5:27.)

My Chinese Arabic teacher tells me that there is no verb here in the text, so that it may be translated in several different ways according to the verb that is supplied by the translator, as "shall be," "shall have,"

"shall become." The Arabic order is, "and to them therein married ones pure." The noun "wives," or "married ones," comes from the word "to pair," "to be coupled," so to be "one of a pair," "a consort," a "bride," or "bridegroom." In the plural it is the "married ones," and in the deep symbolism of the Bible could be the collective Bride, the many pure virgins that form the bride of Mount Zion. (Rev. 14:4; 2 Cor. 11:2; Song of Solomon 1:3.)

In the Bible both singular and plural nouns are used. A spiritual interpretation of this text might correctly read "And to them they shall become a pure bride, and they shall abide therein forever." (2 Cor. 11:2.) The Chinese scholar says this is a correct translation of the text, giving an oriental view of a heavenly relationship. (Comp. Rev. 21:2.) There is nothing here in the text about carnal appetites which later traditions have so connected with the Koran.

A Contrast—This World's Desires.

Chap. 3:12, 13: The human race love as adornment, the eager desire (lust) of the women, and the sons, and the treasures heaped up of the gold and the silver, and the remarkable horses, and the flocks and fields! This is for the present life.

The Better Things.

But near to God, how excellent the home! Say: Shall I tell you of better things than these? For those who fear God, with their Lord, are gardens through which the rivers flow in which they shall be forever. And they shall be a pure bride ("married ones" the meaning is, joined in purity to their Lord, as a married spouse Eph. 5:24, 31; 2 Cor. 11:2): and they shall receive (no verb in the text) favors from God, for God regardeth His servants. There seems no reason why this language may not be thus taken in a pure spiritual sense, but the natural man finds it hard to take away his mind from human ideas. (1 Cor. 2:14.)

FUTURE OF BELIEVERS.

Chap. 4:60: But those who believe, and who have practiced the righteousness, we will cause them to ascend into gardens through which flow the rivers, forever they shall abide therein; and they shall become therein a pure spouse (of their Lord) and We will cause them to enter cool shadowing shades. This is a very beautiful figure for the Arabs who live in the hot deserts where are no rocks or shadows, and gives a good type of heavenly rest. (Ps. 91:1.) The Chinese scholar has reproduced the definite article in his translation, as like the Hebrew it has considerable force, and especially where a spiritual meaning is intended. The same fact is true in Greek. The thought in all these passages seems to bring out clearly the future purity of the believers in union with their Lord, under the figure of a wedded wife. The following selections show that the joy of Paradise in the presence of God, is for women as well as men.

Chap. 4:123: But who so worketh the righteousness whether male or female, and is a believer, shall enter into Paradise.

Chap. 9:73: And God has promised unto the believers, the men, and to the believers, the women, gardens through which the rivers flow, wherein they shall abide for ever; and in the gardens of Eden there shall be goodly dwelling-places; but most excellent of all, will be good will from God: this will be the chief blessing. This certainly is a spiritual view of the highest good and Joy of the believer. In fact the carnal Paradise is not in the text of the Koran, but in the minds and teachings of the great mass of the followers of Islam. They have interpreted the Koran as Celsus and his followers interpreted the Bible in the early years of Christianity.

ALL AS BRETHREN IN PARADISE.

Chap. 15:45: Behold the pious shall be in gardens and amidst fountains: "Enter ye therein in peace and security." And we will remove all grudge from their breasts, they will sit facing one another, as brethren, on imperial couches (or thrones). (Rev. 4:4.) This shows

that those sitting at the heavenly feast are not men and beautiful black-eyed damsels, as so often asserted, but are all the purified believers sitting together as brethren.

Chap. 37:42: In the gardens of delight they shall be on exalted thrones (imperial sofas) sitting facing one another: a cup from a limpid fountain shall be carried around unto them, for the delight of those who drink; it shall not oppress the understanding, or cause them to be drunken. And at this time, they are modest, refraining, the noble secluded ones, distinguished (or most excellent, or the best)!

Arabic words like Hebrew, have many meanings, and many uses. The last word in the foregoing sentence is the word "eye," also meaning "large eye," "prominent," "marked," "distinguished," "look," "appearance," "aspect," "form," "essence," "the best," "the choice one! of a number," "a hole," "an opening," "a fountain," "the sun," 'the rays of the sun," therefore glorious. The Chinese scholar has translated the word "the best." As it is marked as an indefinite noun, without the article, I have given "distinguished," most excellent.

This choice company, described under the symbol of "the pure virgins of Paradise," both in the Koran and the Bible (Rev. 14:4), secluded and kept apart for their Lord, are the brethren who sit together at the feast of the marriage supper of the Lamb. (Rev. 19:9.) There is no need of introducing the carnal idea of "black-eyed damsels" provided for the believers, if only the deeper, spiritual meaning of the words can be realized. The descriptions are not of another class of beings given to the believers in Paradise, but, in beautiful and wonderful words, they show what the believers are to become themselves; when they shall be made "a new creation," transformed into beautiful "shining ones" (Houris) who abide with their Lord forever, with all the delights of Paradise: but their greatest joy will be beholding the face of God, and ever living in His presence.

The Chinese scholar said the Moslems had gone far away from the real meaning of their Koran, and that it was most important to show them the difference between

the spirit and the flesh, the spiritual world and a carnal Paradise. He said he longed to bring them back to higher things, and to the real teaching of the Koran. *He admitted that this must come through a study of the Bible.*

It is also interesting to note that the Hebrew word for "eye," "ain," has the same form and spelling as the Arabic, and is used in much the same way. In our Authorised Version it is translated "eye," 497 times; "fountain," 11 times; "sight," 217 times; "presence," 9 times; "please," 9 times; also "outward appearance," "resemblance," "regard," "think best," "content," "favour," "colour," etc. etc.

THE BRIGHT SHINING ONES OF PARADISE.

Chap. 44: 51–54: But verily the pious shall be in a safe place, amid gardens and fountains, clothed in finest robes and silken garments, and they shall sit facing one another. And it shall be like this: We will espouse them as (in the manner of) bright shining ones (Hur), most distinguished ('ain). Chronologically this is one of the earlier chapters of the Koran, and here we have the description of the inmates of Paradise, under the name of "Hur," or as some call "Houris," and translate as "black-eyed damsels." "Hur" is a remarkable word, and here it has the preposition affixed, "bi," "in," or here meaning, as the Chinese scholar says, "in the manner of." "Hur" means "bright shining," "dazzling white," "brilliant," "made white," as a whitewashed wall, "the white poplar tree," and it also means "a defect," showing that the one made white, and shining bright, was not always so. It may not be possible to find out the exact origin of this interesting word "hur." It has some remarkable relationships however: the first two letters "hu" mean "black" or "dusky," and we are reminded of the origin of this glorious "Bride of Paradise," one darkened by sin, one whom the sun of the world has blackened. (Song of Solomon 1:5, 6.) "Black but comely," and to be transformed into a glorious shining bride. (Eph. 5:27.) This word "hu" or "huw," "black," seems to

have for its root "haw" or "hawa," "living," which gives the name Eve, the same in Arabic and Hebrew "Hawa," "the giver of life," the mother of mankind, or the natural man, who is ever defective and blackened with sin. (Gen. 3:20.) He must be born again. But the final "r" in "Hur" may come from the ancient Arabic and also Hebrew root "ur" "light." "Hu" and "ur" giving the word "Hur," which then really means a new condition of "living in light," "shining ones." The old life is changed and made white, the old wall is covered and whitewashed, the defective bit of earth is covered, like the pearl, and becomes a glorious one for Paradise.

THE VIRGINS OF PARADISE—A NEW CREATION, FIRSTFRUITS!

Chap. 56:1: When that time comes—that surely Coming Day—no one then shall be unbelieving! Some shall be abased! Some shall be exalted! (Isa. 2:11, 12.) Then shall the earth be shaken with a shock, and the mountains shall be crumbled into dust and scattered. (Isa. 2:14–19; Rev. 6:14–17; 16:18.) And ye shall be (separated into) three distinct classes. (1) Then shall all the company of the right hand—Oh! what (happiness shall be) to all the company of the right hand! (2) And the company of the left hand—Oh! what (wretchedness shall be) to all the company of the left hand! (Matt. 25:34, 41, 46.) (3) And those the first comers (the preceders)!—(they shall be)the first comers (into Paradise)! (That is, they are the firstfruits unto God. Rev. 14:4.) These are they, the ones who shall be brought near (unto God)! (Rev. 14:4. "Firstfruits unto God.") They shall be in gardens of delight! There shall be many of the former (first class of the general saved! Rev. 7:9) and few of the latter. (Special third class, firstfruits 1 Cor. 15:23; Heb. 1:23.) They (the third class) shall sit upon imperial couches, or thrones, inwrought with precious stones or gold. And beautiful youths (of Paradise) shall pass among them with dishes and beakers and a cup from the flowing fountain (Water of Life). It will not cause their heads to ache, neither

shall their reason or understanding, be lost (from drinking this wine of Paradise Matt. 26:29). And fruits, according to their choice, and flesh of birds, according to their wish, shall be for them. And (they shall be, this same special third class of whom there are but a few, "the firstfruits") distinguished, bright shining ones, like the pearl, the one kept hidden safely. (Ps. 91:1; Isa. 26:20. This may be "the pearl of great price," so safely kept hidden from harm. Matt. 13:46.) This is a reward for what they have done. They (the same third class) shall not hear therein any unrighteous discourse, nor anything of sin, but they shall only hear (the greeting of) "Peace! Peace!"

First mentioned class (verses 26–33): The company of the right hand—Oh! what (happiness shall be) to all the company of the right hand! They shall dwell in a high place of light, where no thorns shall be, and among tall trees (a very high tree like a palm) full of fruit, and in extended shade, with clear flowing waters, and an abundant fruit, unfailing and unforbidden. And they shall rest on lofty couches.

The third and special class again mentioned (verses 34–39): Verily We will certainly create them (1 Cor. 15:51) a new creation, and We will transform them into pure virgins, or "the firstborn" (Heb. 12:23; Rev. 14:4) risen out of dusts (the dust of the earth Dan. 12:2) to become the people of the right hand.

Many (of these) shall be from those of the former (generations) and many from those of the latter (generations). Note that *all* believers are the company of the right hand, but in this company there are the *general*, and more numerous or "*first class*" (like the "palm bearers" in Rev. 7:9), and the *special* and fewer class, "the preceders," the "firstfruits," or "virgins," like the special class of the twenty-four elders, with crowns, in Rev. 4:4, or the "virgins" of Rev. 14:4.

The famous Moslem Commentator Beidhawi makes this distinction of two classes, few in this last or special class, although they come equally from the men of former and latter times. The Arabic words translated above "risen

out of dusts," gives quite a different idea from the usual English translation. It is verse 36 which has only two words, "uruba atraba," and has been translated "beloved of their husbands of equal age with them." My Chinese scholar says that "uruba" is the "swelling up" of a wound. It means to rise up and become active, from some awakening cause. "Atraba" is the plural of "turab" dust or earth. These are root meanings, there are many other derived meanings. It seems that we have a right to take the root meanings when they give good sense, rather than derived meanings, which give the carnal ideas of the Paradise of the Koran. In this case my Chinese scholar had not heard of the way it is usually translated in English. Koran 78:33.

One other extract will cover most of the Chinese translation on this subject.

THE BEAUTIFUL UNSPOTTED ONES OF PARADISE.

Chap. 55:56, 58, 70–74: Therein are modest refraining ones (or "virgins"), secluded (kept safe from all evil), untouched (or undefiled) by men or demons. They are like the precious stones and the pearls. (1 Pet. 2:5; Eph. 5:27.)

Therein shall be fair and beautiful ones, bright shining ones (Houris) dwelling safe in The Tabernacle (The Tent Ps. 91:1; Rev. 21:3) undefiled by men or demons. The use of the definite article "The Tabernacle," gives a hint of the special place to be provided for the believers who shall be counted worthy to become the "pure virgins" of Paradise. (John 14:2.) In all this, the Arabic text, so this Chinese translation shows, does not require a carnal interpretation. If this is a fact, have we good reason to claim that the Koran teaches such a Paradise?

This paper has presented one view from a Chinese translation, of some difficult passages. We have gone over the principal portions of the Koran that tell of the delights of Paradise, and have translated the Arabic text as explained by this Chinese scholar. Apart from what the great mass of Moslems may think, does the Koran really teach a carnal Paradise? It is true that

the words may be taken in more than one sense, and so some choose only to see the common or earthly meaning. The same is true with many of the most beautiful and wonderful parts of the Bible. But, cannot a spiritual sense be equally true, without doing violence to Arabic grammar and the real meaning of words? I do not know much about Arabic, but with some little comparison with dictionaries, this Chinese scholar seems right in many places where he differs from the ordinary English translations. Will not some of the Arabic scholars give us a further explanation of these passages. It is a subject worthy of a fuller consideration, as we want the truth. If the Koran really contains a deeper and more spiritual teaching, and one in accord with Bible truth, it should be our aim to lead Moslems away from their false traditions, rather than to bring the Koran down to the common view of Mohammedans to-day, who have wandered in many things far from the teachings of their prophet.

Peking, China. E. W. THWING.

We are glad to have this inside view of the Chinese mind and the modern thought of Chinese Moslems as interpreted by the writer. But the arguments here presented and used by the Chinese scholar are evidently an attempt to spiritualize the crass and sensual teaching of the Koran on paradise and its pleasures at the cost of etymology and grammar. Not a single standard commentary on the Koran sanctions the interpretation given nor do the Arabic words bear the meaning assigned them either by derivation or usage. Moslem tradition as given in Buchari and Muslim leaves not the least doubt as to what Mohammed intended to teach about paradise and what his earliest followers believed that he taught on the subject. It is all hopelessly sensual and liberal.—EDITOR.

MOHAMMEDAN WOMEN IN INDIA*

By The Lady Sydenham.

In the last number of *The Women's International Quarterly* there was an interesting article on "The Everyday Life of an Upper Class Hindu Girl" by an Indian Christian. I have been asked to give some account of Mohammedan Women in India which I can only do from an outsider's point of view, the great value of the article referred to being that it was written with intimate knowledge.

The Moslem women of India as I knew them† are readily responsive to kindly sympathy from English women, whose customs, ways and manners they delight in learning. They are very intelligent and those who have been educated on Western lines find pleasure in the study of literature, history and the fine arts; but, at present these are a small minority. The life of the orthodox high class woman is very dull and monotonous, and their faculties run the risk of lying dormant. Their education begins and ends in the endeavour to learn the Koran by heart, which begins quite early in life, and all Eastern people have an extraordinary talent for learning by heart and retaining what they learn.

The Moslem home will be built round a court with deep verandahs, the women's apartments separated from the men's, and on an upper floor. They only look into the court, so that no view of life outside is possible and they are only allowed to go out within the walls, never seeing any men except their own fathers, brothers and husbands. Families live together in colonies after patriarchal fashion, and when a daughter marries she goes to live in her father-in-law's house, but she may live there until she dies without seeing him. They employ large numbers of ser-

*Reprint from *The Women's International Quarterly*. London. January 1917.

†As the wife of the Governor of Bombay Presidency, the author came into contact with very large numbers of Indian women.

vants to wait on them, as they never do manual work of any kind themselves.

Parents arrange marriages for their daughters and the ceremony is performed by a magistrate before the boy or girl have ever met, the mother of the girl taking a great part in it. After the ceremony she sends for her daughter but even then the bridal pair may not see each other, a sheet being hung up between them over which they toss flower petals and rice at each other. Towards the end of the day the bride is taken to her husband's house and given her rooms where she remains for the rest of her days. The marriage is celebrated by entertainments according to the wealth of the parties concerned. A Mohammedan is allowed by the Koran to have four wives, but he seldom has more than two, on account of the expense, each one having her own suite of apartments and her own servants. It has been the custom for years past to invite purdah-nashin ladies to parties at the Government Houses in India. These "purdah parties" as they are called take a great deal of arranging, as the servants in English-run houses in India are always males, who must all be cleared away before Mohammedan ladies arrive. At Bombay Government House the wives of the members of the band used to announce them and wait on them at tea. The very strict ladies bring servants and screens with them, screens to be drawn out as they step out of the carriage so that they may be hidden as they walk up the steps of the entrance porch. One of the rules of etiquette in fashion is that Mohammedan ladies must always wear gold in the material of their dresses. No one who has not seen a purdah party can imagine the shimmering vision of hundreds of these gaily dressed little women, covered with priceless jewels in hair, on neck, wrists and ankles, the whole atmosphere filled with scents as strong as incense. Their hair is mostly wavy and shines with a brilliant black polish, they wear a diamond stred in one nostril, and long trailing ear rings. On entering a room they seat themselves as soon as possible and wish to remain there for the rest of the visit. In vain do you try and persuade them to walk in the garden, and it is quite a task to get them into the tea

room, though it only leads out of the reception room. All the time they are in fear that they may possibly see one of the bandsmen, though strict precautions are taken to hang thick curtains all round the bandstand to prevent any such risk. If these orthodox Moslem ladies see by chance the figure of a man in their drives, in curtained carriages, they have to do penance when they get home by studying for a given time the Koran, in addition to that daily task allotted to them. Some Mohammedan parents are now breaking through these trammels and are bringing up their daughters on Western lines, but should she marry the son of a chief, the girl who has had her freedom and has been educated by a good English governess and become imbued with Western ideas now finds herself secluded in the State Palace where the confinement and the restrictions are far more deeply felt than if she had not been brought out in her childhood. In one case which I remember the young wife contracted consumption from the close atmosphere of indoor life and died at the age of 17, soon after her third child was born.

The lives of the Mohammedan women of the working classes, are far more active, as they have the occupation of domestic duties. They too, however, live in almost complete retirement from the outer world, very often in a two roomed tenement from which they only emerge covered with a Burka, or thick veil, to purchase the necessaries of food for the family. As they may not go beyond the street in which they live, the monotony of their lives is, to us, almost inconceivable. They are frequently very much downtrodden by their husbands, who do not wish them to be educated and enlightened, fearing that discontent with their lot would follow.

The opening of Ladies' Gymkhana Clubs all over India has done much to further educational advancement, and so long as these clubs are managed by representatives of all communities who arrange for purdah conditions on certain days in the week, they can do great good. As a means of bringing ladies together these gatherings help to create a social atmosphere which is wanting in India. They serve to brighten monotonous lives and to broaden

a limited intellectual horizon. Above all, they provide opportunities for bringing English ladies into contact with their Indian sisters and promoting a kindly mutual understanding.

Among the teeming millions of India the English are a little band scattered over a vast area. Only a small fraction of the women can ever come into contact with our women; but the increase of schools and institutions which the latter are conducting, will in time extend Western influences, and must gradually modify the customs of the East. When one considers the narrow limitations which have for centuries regulated the home life of the women of India, it is natural that they should resist change and that they should endure uncomplainingly the wrongs from which their westernized relatives would rescue them, rather than abandon the traditions handed down to them by their mothers.

On the whole, the progress which is now going on in many parts of India is surprising, and as an instance of this movement I can quote an experience I had in the year 1911. I was asked to open a Mohammedan Ladies' Conference for the furtherance of education for women, the first of its kind in Bombay. A solemn little conclave of high born ladies in beautiful clothes, assembled in a heavily curtained room which made it seem very dark to me coming in from the bright sunlight. Curtains take the place of doors in India, and over the tops peered the solemn eyes of the women servants who always accompany these ladies. Underneath, where the curtains failed to reach the floor, many pairs of bare feet, with clusters of rings on their toes were to be seen. Behind my chair stood two women with large palm fans encrusted with gold embroidery, fanning me. The room was redolent with scent of the strongest and most highly concentrated kind. A Parsi Christian lady, Miss Susie Sorabji, who is a friend in need, to Hindu, Mohammedan and Parsi alike, acted as interpreter, and spoke with much love and feeling for all. Begums came from many parts of the Presidency, offering to dedicate their lives to the advancement of their poorer sisters.

In the West it is difficult to realise what a step in advance such a meeting implied, and how significant was the fact that these shy and retiring women should bring themselves to inaugurate a meeting of any kind. The movement was started by two or three young Begums who had had the benefit of education, were able to speak English and consequently had overcome their traditional bashfulness sufficiently to be able to give a lead to others. In 1912 a second conference was held; many more ladies had joined, and one of the Begums read the report of the work done in the past year. A fund was started to endow scholarships for the daughters of poor parents to enable them to continue their studies in secondary schools. At the conference it was also proposed to send lady missionaries into the districts to convince the masses of the value of female education.

Not long after this conference I initiated a general testimonial of sympathy and congratulation to Lady Harding on the Viceroy's escape and I shall never forget the enthusiasm of the meetings held in Bombay. At the Town Hall 1,500 women assembled to hear the proposed address read, and there had never before been such a gathering of women in Bombay. From the Town Hall we went on to the Palace of Lady Alishah, mother of His Highness the Aga Khan, who had called together the Mohammedan women of Bombay, and there were over 5,000 present. The gardens round a fountain were filled to overflowing. The porch, doorway, hall, landings, staircase and huge rooms were crowded, and Her Highness sat on a small platform with a table in front of her filled with annas, the offerings of the thousands of women who came at her bidding to prove their sympathy. The day must have been an eventful one to the greater number of the women present, who had probably never before assembled together and never been in the company of any English ladies. It was a sight never to be forgotten.

Her Highness the Begum of Bhopal, who is a ruler in her own right, and whose mother and grandmother were rulers before her, has made her state one of the most advanced in India. Highly educated from her early infancy,

she is doing all in her power to encourage the education of women. She has been to Mecca, and she paid a visit to Europe in 1911, accompanied by her youngest daughter-in-law the Maimoona Sultan Shahbano Begum, Princess Hamidullah Khan aged fourteen, who has written an account of her travels which has been translated into English, published under the title of "A Trip to Europe." The ladies of the party, who numbered twenty-five persons kept strict purdah throughout their travels. The Princess, at the time they started had lived with the Begum of Bhopal ever since she was five years old. She was encouraged by Her Highness to keep a diary for the benefit of the girls in the Bhopal state, to whom it would be an incentive to take advantage of the education provided for them. Thus, this book was written with a serious purpose which I hope it will fulfil. The party took their own cooks and enough provisions for the voyage, so that their religious customs should not be broken and the captain of the P. & O. gave them every facility for their comfort and convenience.

Some of the educated Moslem women are fond of music. They have several kinds of musical instruments, something like guitars and banjos, but, the strings are made of wire, so they lack power and force and to our ears they only bring forth a tinkling sound. Hitherto they have had no music on record, it has been all handed down from generation to generation by action. They have twenty-two notes to the octave and they make a very serious study of it. They do not appreciate Western music and singing any more than we can understand their Eastern music, nor can one easily find admiration for it. The drum has a peculiar fascination for Indians; a man who plays it well will be brought to entertainments from great distances to display his marvelous manipulation, and the assembled throng will sit motionless in evident rapture at the performance, which is really very marvelous. The drummer sits on the ground with two small drums between his legs and works away at them with thumbs and fingers with a rapidity quite beyond description.

It is impossible in a short article to do justice to the subject of such interest and importance as the Mohammendan women of India, for whom I fully believe, there is a great future. In the Native States there are many notable women who are highly intellectual and whose intellects have been fully cultivated. They are taking a prominent part in raising the conditions of their less fortunate sisters. They realize that it is possible that the women of to-day with careful and consistent education of the right kind can attain to the same positions occupied by the women of a former era, and they are devoting their whole attention to this ambition. To quote from a most interesting book written by Her Highness the Maharani of Baroda and Wm. S. M. Mitra in which they put the position of women in the early ages most clearly: "In early ages the Musalman woman of Arabia was permitted equal instruction with men. The social position she occupied when the power of Islam reached its meridian proves that she possessed rights similar to those enjoyed by men. The Prophet's own women-folk were very far from leading lives of idle seclusion. On the contrary, they were allowed great freedom. . . . Moslem women held positions as sovereigns, teachers, theologians and superintendents of religious communities, and like Hindu women, were famous for learning, eloquence, and capacity to impart instruction. In the reign of the Sultan Bayazid I, women gave lectures in the mosques and schools to students of either sex, and in those days girls and boys were educated together. . . . Progress in the Musalman world began to decline A. D. 921. . . . The category of Musalman women who distinguished themselves in almost every art of peace and war is too long for quotation. It only ceases when the invasions of Tartar hordes and religious or dynastic struggles checked the onward march of civilization in the East, and in the general retrogression the cause of the Mohammedan women suffered well nigh total eclipse." "Yet this early liberty was but a phantom dawn of freedom for woman. It passed—a period in each case followed when her progress was checked."

This rise and fall in civilization described is common to all nations of the world in Eastern countries. The rise and fall reaches perhaps higher altitudes and lower depths but it can be traced in the histories of all the European and Egyptian countries in a like manner. Sound education for both sexes, combined with healthy physical exercise, training in sanitary hygiene, making it possible to ensure decent homes and sufficient food for the poor is essential in maintaining a level condition for men and women alike. D. T. S. Clouston says rightly "The special qualities in both are complementary." There is no question of comparison of worth, both are requisite for the welfare of the world, but to educate the man and leave the woman without learning is an impossible way of tuning the instrument to perfection, which can be produced by the training of both in the most suitable lines for their perfecting. In the words of Sheridan "Women govern us; let us render them perfect: the more they are enlightened, so much the more shall we be. On the cultivation of the mind of woman depends the wisdom of man."

CORRESPONDENCE

DEAR DR. ZWEMER,

I am sure many must have been interested in "The Twentieth Century View of Christ" (M. W. for Oct., 16). It will bear close examination by missionaries to Moslems; I hope we shall see in THE MOSLEM WORLD some useful comments on this up-to-date exposition by a learned and liberal-minded Moslem. One would be interested to know the comments of such men as Sell, Tisdall, Margoliouth, Gairdner, McNeile and yourself or Macdonald.

There are many defective points in the writer's portraiture of Christ and Christianity that will occur to all of us. Amongst them is one point which confirms me in my notion that Christian apologists have to a great extent failed to instil into the Moslem mind (1) The unique position of the Jew in the purposes of GOD for the salvation of the World; (2) The uniqueness of the office of the Messiah; that the office left no place for successors or "sent ones" from the Most High: consequent upon this, the immense gulf there is between any mere prophet and the Messiah. It would be interesting to know the answer of a learned and thoughtful modern Jew to the question: "What is the difference in the office and dignity of a prophet like Moses and the Messiah that the Jews as a nation have long expected?" No doubt such a modern Jew would, modern loftier conceptions notwithstanding—loftier, that is, than in our Lord's time, and conception influenced by contact with Christianity—fail in his answer to set forth at all adequately the spiritual nature and characteristics of Messiah's Kingdom, but he would, if I mistake not, leave the mind of the interrogator in no uncertainty as to the gulf of distance between "He who should come" and those who spake of Him, between Him who was the consolation of Israel and also the Desire of all Nations and one like Tahga who was a mere voice crying in the wilderness. Even if the greatness of the gulf between a prophet and the Messiah be admitted, there is yet, of course, the further step of leading the Moslem as well as the Jew to the point of recognizing the Divinity of Christ as established, for example, by St. John and St. Paul, both of whom being Jews—one the intimate and bosom companion of the Christ and the other a zealous and learned Rabbi and quandam persecutor of the dishonored Nazarene.

Christians are rightly coming to rely more upon present-day spiritual evidences in flesh and blood in winning over the Moslem to the true Faith. Nevertheless I think there is need for magnifying, more than has perhaps been the custom, the Jewish covenant and Hope as a stepping stone for the Moslem to a truer conception of the Christ. In spite of the fact that much has been written on Messianic prophecy, I think there is still room for a booklet on the subject especially for Moslems.

Surely one fact emerges from the article in question, viz.: the need of persuading Moslems to drink for themselves at the fountain-head of revelation—to personally examine both Old and New Testament, noticing the stops in the development of the teaching concerning the Person and the offices of the Messiah.

Yours sincerely

FREDERICK JOHNSON.

Suffolk House, Newport,
Isle of Wight, England,
January 1917.

BOOK REVIEWS

History of the Church Missionary Society. Supplementary Volume —The Fourth. London: Church Missionary Society. Pp. 663. 7/6d. 1916.

With this fourth volume of 665 pages the veteran author, historian, editor, organizer, and enthusiast brings his monumental labor to a close. *Finis coronat opus*,—an *opus* that none but he could have touched, or at least treated in such fashion. Dr. Stock has been one of God's most precious gifts to the Church Missionary Society. We congratulate Dr. Stock on this finished work and we congratulate the C. M. S. on Dr. Stock.

In all such histories it is inevitable that the scale should gradually change as the end is approached, and that it should be less possible to observe proportion—exactly as objects get out of proportion, and finally out of focus—the nearer they are to the lens of the camera. Thus in years to come, it may appear that many of the incidents mentioned in Volume IV were of very transient importance and that many of the names recorded were scarcely deserving of such prominence; and that, in spite of this, or rather for this reason, the architectonics of this volume are less striking than was the case in the previous three: that in short we have here *annals* rather than history. But this was inevitable. No amount of prescience or selective power can take the place of *time*,—that great weeder-out of the Unimportant, Determiner of relative Magnititudes, and Humbler of Ephemeral.

In spite of all which, it is wonderful how much architecture Dr. Stock *has* managed to work into his book, and how many themes which one feels will prove of abiding importance he has discussed. As usual, these are not confined to the C. M. S. as such. For probably this Four Volume History of The Church Missionary Society will one day prove to be in many ways the best History of the Church in England in the Ninteenth and Twentieth Centuries.

In this magazine, however, it does not concern us to review this volume in general, but rather to see what it tells us about Moslem Missions in particular. And this we are enabled to do with delightful ease thanks to the admirable index of 61 closely printed pages (to Volume IV only!).

The research brings out very clearly that truly this great Society may claim to have taken and, hitherto, kept the lead in tackling the hardest, most thankless, and most baffling problem that the Church has ever had to face; the hostile Roman Empire alone excepted. On the other hand this only shows how little relatively, has been attempted or accomplished in this regard.

In chapter X a very interesting general sketch is given, in which the principal modern literature on Moslem Missions is touched on; the Cairo and Lucknow Conference; and a brief, packed résumé of the chief missionaries to Moslems,—C. M. S. and non-C. M. S., Church of England, Non-Conformist, and Greek Church to boot. And the chapter closes with a notice of missions by Moslems such as Mr. Quilliam's at Liverpool and at Woking, by Kamal ud Din and Lord Headley—everything has been "got in." This chapter is admirable. Why

does not Dr. Stock write the next "text-book" on Islam and Mohammedan missions?

In other chapters there is a great deal about the several missions of the C. M. S. to Modammedans in the different fields of the Society, West Africa, Egypt and the Sudan, East Africa, Palestine, Mesopotamia, Persia, Indian Frontier, Punjab, Bengal, Haidarabad, etc.

In pages 41–43 there is an illuminating summing up of the influence of Islam in Africa, with quotations from E. D. Morel, Stanley, P. T. Manley, Walter Miller, O. W. Smith, Edinburgh Conference Commission IV, Sir Percy Girard, Livingstone, Schweinfurth and Captain Orr, R.A. We cite the names just as they occur. The quotations preserve valuable dicta. Thus Sir Percy Girard in a speech on board a liner in 1910, said that the government and the missionary must combine to combat the advance of Mohammedanism. Livingstone: "Heathen Africans are much superior to the Mohammedans who are the most worthless one can have" (of course "the Africans" was only to those of Eastern Africa). Mr. Mage: "Islam is at the bottom of the weight of ills under which Africa is suffering" (he wrote of Senagambia in particular). Captain Orr (of Hausaland): "Even if it be true that Islam lays a dead hand on a people who have reached a certain standard of civilization, it is impossible to deny its quickening influence on African races in a backward state of evolution." "Not," he adds, "that the spread of Islam amongst Pagan tribes is wholly beneficial. Its appeal to his sensual nature is not without its effect. The very civilization which Islam brings teaches its vices as well as its virtues." To which Dr. Stock adds: "If it be remarked that Christian civilization does the same, which in a sense is true, the answer is that the vices of Islam are an inherent part of it, whereas the vices of Christians are the antithesis of real Christianity."

In regard to the Sudan Dr. Stock says: "On the other hand" (he has just quoted Bishop Gwynne's eulogy of British rule) "the Gordon College at Khartum, with its endowment of £100,000, and its first-rate education for Mohammedans could only be regarded with partial approval by Christian people, who felt that the encouragement of Islam and the exclusion of the Bible involved a policy singularly inappropriate as a memorial to a Christian hero. But the fact is that, as a chaplain at Assuan, Canon Oldfield, said three or four years ago, British domination has, in a sense, "re-established Islam." While the Mohammedans are protected by a Christian government against "proselytism" Mohammedan officials are sent freely into Pagan districts where all their influence is exerted to induce the people to embrace Islam. When King Leopold of Belgium died, a large Pagan territory known as the Lado Enclave between the Upper Nile and the Congo State, which had been leased to him by Great Britain, reverted to British rule; and Mohammedan soldiers and school teachers were at once sent in, to keep order and to open schools."

But is this quite fair? The conduct of the government in opening Pagan districts to Mohammedan officialdom has nothing to do with its "protecting of Mohammedans against Christian proselytism," if for no other reason than that same government opens those Pagan districts still more freely to Christian missionaries. Moreover, "Mohammedan officials can hereby be said to use all their influence to induce the people to embrace Islam." The potent influence is rather government action in making Friday a public holiday, honoring Moslem feasts, and recruiting negroes into Moslem regiments.

Turning to Egypt, though an excellent account is given of the C. M. S. Mission we think that the really unique and outstanding

character of Mr. Thornton's personality and career should have been more brought into relief. Brief though his career was, the finished porch to an air-drawn temple, he will be considered a hundred years hence, or we are much mistaken, as one of the greater landmarks in the whole history of Moslem missions.

In the Palestine chapter we have the following: "Baptism of Moslems is not unknown in Palestine, though the converts are relatively few. In some cases they have been sent to Egypt for safety. Bishop Ridley, who visited the mission in 1908, said, 'The baptism of a convert under the Turk is a signal for imprisonment, and probably his martyrdom will follow. Despite treaties freedom of conscience is not tolerated. . . . Not long since a sheikh entered a mission school, dragged out one of the pupils and beat her almost to death.' Among those who found Christ in the Jaffa Hospital was an Afghan, but he was shot afterwards by a Moslem, whom he declined to prosecute, and he was brought back to the hospital, where he was baptized at his own request before he died."

The chapter on the Persian Mission is worthy of careful reading.

From India we have the following: "A notable baptism took place at Narowal on Whit Sunday (May 19th) 1907. The Rev. Ihsan Ullah (now Archdeacon of Delhi) had the high and happy privilege of baptizing his brother, a leading man in the town, and vice-president of its *anjuman* (assembly), who had been studying the Bible for twenty-two years. He was baptized with his wife and four children retaining his Mohammedan name of Rahmat Ullah ('the mercy of God'). His Moslem friends tried to prevent the baptism, and after he had been received into the Church they cast him out altogether, and sent orders all round the country that their people were to have nothing to do with him. His oldest son is now a professor at the C. M. S. College at Peshawar. Archdeacon Ihsan Ullah, who has been an ordained clergyman twenty years before this, told the story of his own conversion at the Lucknow Conference.*

Dr. G. A. Smith's striking testimony to the Peshawar Mission is given: "I was greatly impressed by the work of the C. M. S. at Peshawar. I saw with my own eyes much more than I expected. . . . For one like myself, who has long been familiar with Christian missions to Moslems in Egypt and Asiatic Turkey, the recent cases of conversion at Peshawar are very remarkable, and the means open great hopes for the future."

From Afghanistan, that closed cruel land—two Afghan converts suffered martyrdom for their faith in 1907–1908, both being caught just over the Afghan frontier, and on refusing to apostatize being cruelly put to death. Their names were Abdul Karim and Nasirullah Khan, both converts from Islam. The latter was buried in a Moslem cemetery, and Dr. Holland and Mr. Ball wished to have a brief service over the grave. This was impossible in daylight as it would have caused a disturbance; but the head police official, himself a Mohammedan, took them and two other converts to the grave at night, carrying a lantern, and the two missionaries offered a short prayer each. Dr. Holland wrote, "It was one of the most touching funeral services at which I have ever been present."

The above quotations are sufficient to show what "rare bits" are to be found up and down Dr. Stock's pages, with their easy, interesting, practiced style, so absolutely suited to their subject. Our last quotation shall be from the noble chapter with which the book properly

*See C. M. S. *Gazette*, April, 1911.

closes (there is an appendix-chapter on The War and the Missions). The chapter is called "The Hour of Setting Sun," from the fine couplet so often on John R. Mott's lips,

"The work that centuries might have done
Must crowd the hour of setting sun."

(By Clara Thwaites, C. M. Hymn-book, vs. 29.) In this chapter John R. Mott is again quoted, and with this quotation we take leave of Dr. Stock's *monumentum aere perennius:* "Where, after China, is there another nation of 400 millions of people to turn from an ancient past and to swing out into the full stream of modern Christian civilization? Where, after India, is there another vast empire to be swept by the spirit of unrest and to be made peculiarly accessible to the reconstructive processes of Christianity? Where, after Africa, is there another continent for which Mohammedanism and Christianity can contend? Where, after Turkey and the Nile Valley, is there another keystone to the vast arch of the Mohammedan world, with seams of weakness which make possible the disrupting of the whole structure?" To which Dr. Stock adds: "No doubt, although there may be no other great fields like these, the door of entry may yet open wider; but meanwhile our responsibility to recognize and to use such opportunities could scarcely be greater. Whether therefore, we face the retrospect of the Past, the aspect of the Present, or the prospect of the Future, the Call to seize the Day of Opportunity, the Decisive Hour, is loud indeed. We look back, and wonder at the divine guidance that has led us all the way, and at the divine blessing that has followed our unworthy service. We look around, and see the unprecedented openings for fulfilling the Lord's Commission. We look forward, and know that "the hour of setting sun" will be succeeded by the dawn of a new and brighter day. Retrospect, Aspect, Prospect, speak to us the same solemn word. All with one voice call upon us to see that "the work the centuries might have done" *shall* "crowd the hour of setting sun."

Cairo. W. H. T. GAIRDNER.

La Femme Arabe. By Général E. Daumas. Pp. 154. Alger: Typographie Adolphe Jourdan, Éditeur. Place du Gouvernement. 1912.

This is a posthumous work by General Daumas, handed to us by his grandson, Lieut. Maurice Perras, and by his grandnephew, Mr. Eugene Boislandry-Dubern.

General Daumas, whose life and works are so well known of all those who are interested in the modern history of Algeria, was Consul in that country after the exile of Abd el Kader and as such, had charge of its organisation.

Owing to his knowledge of the language and customs of the Arabs he has written with sympathy for the Moslems. Because he loved them he understood them. This volume was dictated by the General toward the end of his life, and has been published such as he left it. It is the life story of the Moslem woman from the cradle to the tomb, and the aim of the book is to give information useful to the statesman as well as to the administrator, to the artist and the scholar. We have thus the Arab woman in the midst of her society and environment. This book is the complement of Dr. Lemanski's "Moeurs Arabes" reviewed in Vol. V, No. 3, July 1915, number of THE MOSLEM WORLD. Dr. Lemanski studies the Arabic woman of Tunis as an individual, not as a member of society.

F. J. DUPRÉ.

Verheffing Van de Inlandsche Vrouw. Deel VII. Van't Overzicht van enz. De Economie van de Desa. Batavia, Drukkerij "Papyrus," 1914. Price, F.2.50.

The student of Islam in those parts of the world which are under colonial government should not neglect one of the most important sources of information, namely, Government Reports and Documents. This is especially true of the Philippine Islands, Malaysia and India. The volume before us consists of 167 closely printed folio pages and deals, as the title indicates, with the condition and emancipation of women and girls in Java and Madura. The book consists of three parts. First, a description from Government sources and statistics of the position of the native woman socially and intellectually, the life of girls before marriage, the evils of early marriage, polygamy, divorce, child labour, and the social evil. The second part treats of reform movements for the uplift of Javanese womanhood, the prospect of family education and attempts made to lessen the evils of polygamy and divorce. The most interesting part of the document, however, is the appendix which consists of nine papers by native leaders in education and reform, some of them Moslem women themselves. Here we have human documents of the deepest interest. We may mention one by the editor of a ladies' journal, *Wanito Sworo*, who herself pleads for her Moslem sisters saying: "The Javanese people can never advance in civilisation as long as the Javanese woman remains in ignorance." She says that frequently letters come to her office, some anonymous and others with signature, asking that a protest be made against early marriage and divorce.

It is evident that in many respects Moslem women in Java have more liberty and are less secluded than in the lands of the Near East. Fifty per cent of the Javanese still practice polygamy, child-marriage of girls from 7 to 10 years of age is still common, altho the consummation of such marriages is postponed from four to six years. According to the testimony of missionary C. Albers there are cases in West Java of women who have been married ten to fifteen or twenty times! The facility of Moslem divorce has not lessened the social evil. (Pp. 18–20.) A hopeful feature, however, is that the new educational movements, including the *Sarikat Islam*, are taking strong measures against these evils through the press, public gatherings and petitions. It is admitted, however, that missions have done the earliest and the most successful work in this direction. The Christian communities are distinguished and distinguishable from those around them in the position and education of girls and women. One of the Moslem reform writers quotes with approval an article in the *Hindustani Review* which, altho far from the mark as regards accuracy of statement, indicates the higher ideals that now appeal to the Javanese: "Muhammad lived in an age when polygamy was universally practised, and was, so to say, an inevitable evil. 'It is true that it (the Koranic text) contains a permission to contract four contemporaneous marriages,' but there is this proviso: if you cannot deal equitably and justly with all, you shall marry only one. Monogamy is becoming the rule rather than the exception in Islam, and among the Indian Musulmans about 95 per cent are monogamous.

"Muhammad provided for divorce, and the wife has distinct rights in this matter. She may demand it for 'ill-usage, want of proper maintenance and other causes.' There are certain rather lengthy formalities to be gone through, which permit of time in order to effect a reconciliation, for Muhammad disapproved of separation? The

Purda system cannot have been approved by the prophet, for the women of his family enjoyed the utmost freedom. Indeed Muhammed held wide views regarding women, but as so often happens, when a religion gets fixed into a form, a rigidity is established of which the Founder is guiltless. If only the different sects in India would go back to the real sources of their religion, they would probably find much to justify them in removing the disabilities from women, which at present obtain." (P. 35.)

A high tribute is paid to the work of education by the American Government in the Philippine Islands (pp. 113–121) and the methods and results there obtained are suggested as ideal for the Dutch Government to follow. It is interesting to note that because the Javanese men are adopting European dress there is also a similar movement of reform (?) among the women.

In one respect the document is utterly disappointing, the material has been thrown together rather than carefully edited: the book has no index and is full of misprints; altho four pages are devoted to errata a footnote informs the patient reader that "these are only corrections of the more important errors in the text."

S. M. Z.

The New Map of Africa. By Herbert Adams Gibbons. The Century Company, New York, 1916. Pp. 503. Price, $2.00 net.

Africa need no longer be a "dark continent" to any one who will take pains to read carefully this timely book. The political history of Africa between 1900 and 1916 is here dealt with in a single volume for the first time, and in a clear and sufficiently comprehensive way for the general reader. The author has tried to set forth the truth without fear or favour, and most unpleasant truth it is in the case of all the nations, great and small, that have in the last two decades been engaged in intrigue and the game of grab in all parts of Africa. Yet just as clearly and forcefully does he show the other and more pleasant side of the picture.

What is the political status of every nook and corner of Africa? What were the results of the Boer War? Why is Britain the best coloniser and colonial administrator? Why is Portugal the worst? What have been the accomplishments of the Germans? Why is European domination disliked by the natives in spite of all the economic, educational and administrative benefits that are conferred? Why are the French less disliked than others? Why have the grandiose dreams and schemes of pan-Islamic revolt failed of realisation? On the other hand what leads Moslems under French rule to volunteer for France by the thousands? What are some African educational problems? What did Morocco and other African questions have to do with the causes of the present titanic struggle in Europe? What had best be done with Germany's conquered African colonies? What are some other problems about Africa that will come up for settlement after the present struggle is over, when another "new map of Africa" will have to be made? These and scores of other questions no less timely and interesting are asked, answered, or discussed in the clearest, fairest, and frankest way one could wish,—and more so than anybody who is too pro- or anti-anything may like.

Six good maps and an index add to the value of the book. In future editions it would be well to correct the error on page 267 about the area of Angola.

I. N. Camp.

L'Alerte du Desert. By Magali-Boisnard. Librairie Perrin & Cie, 35, Quai des Grands-Augustins, Paris, 1916. Pp. 334. Fr. 3.50.

Mme. Magali-Boisnard, who has been brought up to live the Arab life among the Arabs of Algeria, spent recently three years in the Sahara and came back "toute vibrante du souffle de la guerre." She gives us this bright little book composed of a series of interesting sketches of life in the Sahara during 1914–1916.

She tells of the things she heard and saw as she went about from place to place doing her bit of service for the old country in speaking the word that was to right the error or to explain that which puzzled the natives. Everywhere she met with marks of their faithfulness to and trust in the old country.

"Il y a longtemps que nous avons pris l'habitude de la fidélité." "Que Dieu fortifie la puissance de la France." "La France est bonne." At times she heard them express their feelings towards the Turks, as in the following sentences: "Nous servions les Turcs, mais nous avons preféré aimer la France." "Quels Arabes de race voudraient pactiser avec les Turcs?" "Les Croyants ont battu les Turcs! Et sur le tombeau d'Ali et sur celui d'El Hussein ils ont juré haine et mort aux égarés, esclaves infâmes de l'Allemand infâme!"

F. J. DUPRÉ.

Thaurat Al 'Arab. By one of the members of the Arabian Society. Al Mukattam Press, Cairo, 1917. Pp. 246.

This book deals in detail with the Eastern question and gives a summary of the history of the Ottoman Empire until the dethronement of Abdel Hamid. An account is given of the Committee of Union and Progress with the details of the perquisites secured by various members of that body and their shameless exploitation of their position to achieve personal ends and their relation to religious customs and traditions, their treatment of the Sultan and their subservience to German influence. The suggestion that the names of the first (Arab) Caliphs on the Constantinople Mosques be replaced by those of the later (Turkish) Caliphs, that the Koran be translated into Turkish to obviate the necessity of learning Arabic, and that the "traditions" so highly honoured by all orthodox Moslems contain many contradictions and discrepancies and thus lack authority, all of which points were vigorously combatted by the Arabian Society. The evident object of the writer who remains anonymous and of those who are superintending and circulating the book is to justify the new Arabian Kingdom to the Moslem world and to prove that the Caliphate belongs to the Koreish. In this sense it belongs to the publications of the war period and is not altogether an unbiased history.

M. D.

The International Standard Bible Encyclopaedia. James Orr, M.A., D.D. (General Editor). John L. Nuelsen, D.D., LL. D., Edgar Y. Mullins, D.D. LL.D. (Assistant Editors). Morris O. Evans, D.D., Ph.D., (Managing Editor). 5 Vols.; 3,541 pages. Chicago: The Howard-Severance Company, 1915. Price $30 net.

The center of discussion with Moslems is nearly always the integrity and authority of the Bible. Once that is admitted the battle is half won. Mohammedan objections to Christianity to-day find their ground in nearly every case in the alleged teaching of the Bible or its alleged contradictions. We therefore take pleasure in

commending to all of our readers this new standard Bible encyclopaedia. Its distinctive character and aim and the principles which have guided the editors make it eminently suitable for the library of the missionary. It is true, as the preface tells us, that the Bible is passing through the ordeal of a remorseless and revolutionary criticism, and the singular fact is that conclusions which decades ago would have been condemned as subversive of all faith in its authority are now naturalized in large sections of the Church as the last and surest results of scholarship, to question which is well-nigh to put one's self beyond the pale of consideration—almost as if one denied the Copernican theory of the universe. In view of this destructive criticism the present work meets a real need; it is scholarly but also reasonably conservative. It differs from most ultra-modern works either in declining to accept the views of, or in adopting a more cautious attitude toward, the advanced Wellhausen school. The general editor is the late Professor Orr, and he has had two hundred contributors to assist him, over one half of whom are residents in the United States. Special prominence is given to archaeological subjects, and these are naturally of deep interest to the student of the Near East. Islam has no place as such in a Bible dictionary but we are glad to note that in the treatment of the Old Testament characters, *e.g.* Abraham, the teaching of the Koran is noted. The article on Arabia is by Thomas Hunter Weir, and that on the Arabic language by J. Oscar Boyd. Of special interest to the student of Islam are the articles on Angles, Astrology, Anthropology, Discrepancies in the Bible, Jesus Christ and the Trinity. The last named article is by Benjamin B. Warfield and might well be reprinted as a leaflet on the subject for those who are trying to unfold the mystery to Moslem inquirers. We notice a number of Orientalists and missionaries among the contributors. Not only is the work beautifully printed and illustrated, but nearly 500 pages of the last volume are devoted to an exhaustive index of subject matter, scripture texts, and Hebrew and Greek words. The work is thoroughly up to date as evident for example in the article on the manuscript of the New Testament with its beautiful reproduction of a page from the *Codex Washingtoniensis*, better known as the *Freer* manuscript. Both as regards its convenience and excellence of form and its high merit this Bible encyclopaedia should attain a large circulation and out-distance all competitors. One has only to compare the articles on the Flood, on Jonah, or on Daniel in this dictionary with those in some other dictionaries to learn how sane real scholarship is when joined to faith in God and His Holy word.

S. M. ZWEMER.

The Riddle of Egypt. A Handbook to the Study of Anglo-Egyptian Affairs. By M. Travers Symons. 12 mo.; pp. 221. London: Frank Palmer. 1916.

The sub-title exactly describes the contents of this interesting study. We have had many books on Egypt by government officials and by travellers. This is by one who studies the social aspect of the Egyptian problem, and does not tell of its ancient history, the scenery of the Nile or the customs of the people, but of their affairs and of the wrongs against which they utter protest. We are shown the machinery of the government before the war. The author deals fearlessly with the policy of education. "'In the early days of the British Occupation nearly all the pupils who attended the govern-

ment schools were taught gratuitously,' says Lord Cromer. But in order to encourage the love of learning, he tells us that free education was given up; in order to prove that the Egyptian had a real desire for knowledge, he was made to pay for his education! In dealing with Finance, Irrigation, Public Works, Public Security, &c., European methods have been deemed the best, and have been imported wholesale into Egypt; but in the department of Education, the approved modern European method of providing free elementary education by the state, and which was first instituted in Egypt by Mohammed Ali, was abandoned except in cases where private charity could be invoked." "Unfortunately the whole basis upon which the system of state education in Egypt has been founded is a false one. Its object has not been to meet the needs of the people as a whole, but to benefit a certain class." We doubt whether the statement is altogether true. Mrs. Symons, however, is specially interested in the education of Egypt's womanhood, as at present only three in a thousand are literate, and there is a good and discriminate sketch of the Nationalist movement. She says: "The older Nationalism was largely the product of Islam; the modern Nationalism is the product of engrafted European intellectualism. The older movement, because it was essentially religious, appealed to the emotions, to the heart, and was therefore warm and spontaneous; it was hailed and understood by the ignorant. The movement to-day, though a revival and continuation of the other, is, in comparison, cold and colourless; its appeal is not so much to the heart as to the brain, not to the emotions but to reason; the simple and ignorant do not grasp its subtler issues quickly, and its cry is therefore, necessarily, for Education." Nor does she minimise the dangers of the movement: "The movement for Islamic reform and personal freedom has given way to agitation for political freedom and social reform, Arabi, the fellah-orator, with the Koran in one hand and the sword in the other, is typical of the former; Mustafa Kamel, the lawyer-orator, with his European culture and ideals, is the type of the present movement. The 'rebel' has become the 'sedition-monger.' " And yet it is well to remember her words on page 176: "However crude the Englishman may consider the methods of the Nationalists in Egypt, he is obliged to admit that no nation ever yet rose to a high level of civilisation without possessing the principles which lie behind the movement which he finds so distasteful. We may take it for granted therefore that nothing will stop that movement. It is an important stage in the same evolutionary process through which our own and every civilised country has had to pass, and what the Englishman who has a soûl above that of a belly-god has to do is to face the facts and deal with them sanely." Although we do not endorse all the statements made by Mrs. Symons, we believe that she shows real sympathy and love for the Egyptians. The list of men prominent in Egyptian politics and the bibliography at the end of the volume were valuable before the changes wrought by the war.

S. M. Z.

L'Ecriture Arabe, son Extension dans le Monde Oriental et le Monde Occidental, par Abdul Fattah Ebade. Traduction Française par T. Sutton. Cairo: Imp. Al-Hilal. Pp. 122. P. T. 10. 1916.

The importance of this book is not indicated by its size, for the author has gathered from many sources a succinct account of the

history of Arabic writing and although in some cases the statistics he gives are exaggerated he shows clearly the importance of the Arabic alphabet which has spread more widely than any other alphabet throughout the world. No less than 31 languages use the Arabic character and one may well quote what Renan stated on the extension of this language: "La langue arabe est, sans contredit, l'idiome qui a envahi la plus grande étendue de pays. Deux autres langues seulement, le grec et le latin, partagent avec elle l'honneur d'être devenues langues universelles, organes d'une pensée religieuse ou politique supérieure, aux diversités de races; mais l'étendue des conquêtes du latin et du grec n'approche pas celles de l'arabe. Le latin a été parle de la Campanie aux Iles Britanniques, du Rhin à l'Atlas; le grec de la Sicile au Tigre, de la Mer Noire à l'Abyssinie. Qu'est-ce que cela comparé à l'empire immense de la langue arabe, embrassant l'Espagne jusqu'à l'Equateur, l'Asie méridionale jusqu'à Java, la Russie jusqu'à Kasan."

The book is dedicated to the new Sultan of Egypt and deals first with the history of Arabic writing before Islam. The author then gives an account of the various styles of writing, the vowel points and others uses. The second part of the book deals with those languages which adopted the Arabic character; namely, the Turkish, the Indian group, the Persian group and Africa.

It is not correct to state that the population of Persia is nine and a half million, that of Afghanistan, five million and that sixty-six million people in India use the Arabic character. It is also an exaggeration to put the number of Turkish-writing people as high as forty million (p. 85). According to the author's statistics there are 2,430,000 people who speak languages that are written in the Arabic character! A more correct estimate would be half this number. Aside from these criticisms we heartily commend this study. Illustrations add much to the value of the text.

S. M. Z.

Armenia: Past and Present. By W. Llew. Williams, with an introduction by T. P. O'Connor, M.P. Published by P. S. King & Son, London. 1916. Pp. 211, and two good maps. 3/6 net.

The author surveys the geographical and economic conditions of the six Turkish provinces where the Armenians used to form about 40 per cent of the people, and briefly passes in review the ethnological characteristics of that very mixed population. He then tells the sad story of war and oppression endured for so many centuries by that martyr people, the Armenians, and shows how their church, the church of the first Christian state, has for so many hundreds of years preserved their national life and aspirations. The third part of the book states the modern problem and finds its solution in an autonomous Armenia under the ægis of Russia.

Critics of this solution might cite against it the following: The inability of the Armenians to co-operate with one another or with outsiders in self-government; their unfitness to rule over such a large non-Armenian population, especially if Cilicia were to be included, as the author hopes; the undesirability of Russia as a tutor in self-government while she herself has so much of the lesson yet to learn. Nevertheless, almost any change is preferable to the distress of the present or the oppression of the past.

Whatever our opinions may be regarding the solution of the problem, we can all say with the author: "Peace can only be established

on righteousness. Justice and right demand that Armenia shall be satisfied—shall, after the centuries of darkness and sorrow, know a new day of light and joy." If Armenia has not yet passed "from the tomb to the ressurrection," it is our hope and expectation that she will.

I. N. CAMP.

La Suppression des Arm´niens. By M. Réné Pinon. Published by Perrin et Cie. Paris, 1916. Pp. 75. 1 fr.

M. Pinon with admirable clearness and forcefulness sets forth the main facts of the recent horrors perpetrated on the Armenians. After stating the well-known German doctrine of the state, he passes to the discussion of German policy in its "Drang nach Osten," and holds that the Armenian deportations were due to the German and Turkish desire to prevent the Armenians from being influenced by Russia. The plan was German, but its execution was Turkish. Even if some Armenians may be charged in some instances with unwise manifestations of pro-Russian sympathies, "there is a great difference between the pitiless suppression of revolts and the systematic and barbarous destruction of an entire people guilty of no offence."

In the chapter describing the massacres and deportations, it is encouraging to read that many German missionaries in their magazines and otherwise have taken a strong stand on the side of right and justice and that there is a considerable body of public opinion in Germany that disapproves the policy so cruelly applied to the Armenians. In sharp contrast with this is the German official attitude and the opinions of many prominent writers as expressed in leading German papers and magazines.

The author places the responsibility squarely upon the shoulders of the Young Turk leaders at Constantinople and of those who determine German policy. The responsibility of Germany is that its "Government kept silence or approved. A veto coming from Berlin, even under the form of advice, would have prevented the massacre or would have stopped it." Since this was written, so many things have happened in Turkey, and Germany has committed so many other crimes that we are unable to doubt the direct joint responsibility and guilt of those who have determined Teuton policy.

I. N. CAMP.

Mahomet, Founder of Islam. By G. M. Draycott. London: Martin Secker, 5, John St., Adelphi.

The author of this book thus sums up the character of Muhammad's influence, on the Arabs first, and then on all his followers: "The Prophet Mahomet is at once the glory and bane of his people, the source of their strength and the mainspring of their weakness. He represents more effectively than any other religious teacher the sum of his followers' spiritual and worldly ideas. His position in religion and philosophy is substantially the position of all his followers: none have progressed beyond the primary thesis he gave to the Arabian world at the close of his career." (P. 9.) Farther on, Mr. Draycott thus depicts some of the leading traits in Muhammad's personal character. "What he could not achieve by force, he attempted to gain by cunning. He had a large faith in the power of argument backed by force. . . . He knew how to play upon the baser passions of men, and especially was he mindful of the lure of gold. . . . His was a nature of extremes combined with a

wisdom that came as a revelation to his followers. Where he hates it is with a hurricane of wrath and destruction, where he loves it is with the same impetuous tenacity. . . . And so the prevailing stamp upon Muslim institutions is fanaticism and intolerance." (Pp. 326–333.)

With this and much else in the book we agree, though we are by no means clear why the book was written. The pictures which the writer sometimes draws of Muhammad's attitude of mind on certain occasions do not convince us, as they are so evidently drawn by one unacquainted with the psychology of the Oriental. He ascribes to Muhammed the "perusal" of the Jewish Scriptures (p. 99, *fin.*), though it is by no means certain that Muhammad could read, and the Qur'ân shews that his ideas of Bible characters were derived from Talmudic tales learnt orally, not from the study of the Old Testament. The general outlines of Muhammad's biography have been so often drawn that it was hardly worth while to repeat them. A slight bowing acquaintance with Arabic would have been useful to the author, but he has evidently not acquired it. He occasionally gives us what he thinks is an Arabic phrase, such as "Allah akbar Islam," or "Ya Mansur amit" (p. 166); the former of which he does not translate, and the latter he renders wrongly by "Ye conquerors, strike!" He represents the word for the Pilgrimage to Mecca by *Higg* and again by *Hijj*, instead of writing it correctly *Hajj*. A certain word is at one time written *Dhu*, at another *Dzu*. The same name sometimes appears as Acaba, sometimes as Akaba. We meet with the strange phrase "Amir al momirim" (p. 148). The word "Muslim" is constantly used as if it were in the plural! A Muslim would object to his rendering Hegira (Hijrah) by "flight." The German spelling "Kureisch" for *Quraish* is used throughout. The "Muhajerim" (Muhàjirîn) are not unfrequently mentioned (p. 429.) In many places we meet with contradictions which seem to shew hasty composition. Thus in p. 211 Medina is spoken of as Muhammad's "native city," yet in p. 221 this title is applied to Mecca. In p. 288 we are told that Ibrâhîm Muhammad's child by Mary the Copt, was his firstborn son, although in p. 60 it is correctly stated that he had previously had two sons by Khadîjah. An "Egyptian King" is mentioned in pp. 258 and 287. Should the book reach a second edition, we trust that these and other errors will be corrected.

W. St. Clair Tisdall.

De la Tradition Considérée comme Source du Droit Musulman. Riad Ghali, Docteur en Droit, Avocat à la Cour D'Appel au Caire, etc. Paris: Arthur Rousseau, Éditeur, 14 Rue Soufflot, 1909. Pp. 213.

As a suitable introduction to his book, the author begins with Montesquieu's definition of the laws. "Les lois, sans la signification la plus étendue. Sous les rapports nécessaires qui dérivent de la nature des choses." This principle justifies the writing of this volume as the study of the sources of Moslem law.

As the basis of Moslem jurisprudence one finds "Tradition" or "Sunna." After the first chapter in which the author explains the different sorts of revelations given to the prophet, he gives the forms that revelation took: The *Koran*, the *Sunna*, the *Ijma* and *El Kiyas*. Of all these all Moslem sects agree that the Koran is the highest. The Shiites do not accept the "Sunna" and their laws are based on the Koran.

The *Sunna* proceeds from Mohammed after he received his communication from God. Like all the prophets he is preserved from wilful error or sin, but the question is, is he preserved from involuntary errors or mistakes? There is disagreement on that point. The Hamafis say that all the prophets are free from any error at all, whilst the Shafis admit the possibility of accidental errors. Then follow chapters on the *Sunna* itself, on those responsible for it and on the illegitimacy of the *Sunna*.

Dr. Riad Ghali is a man well qualified to write on Moslem law and his book contains valuable information for the student of Islam. The book contains a bibliography.

F. J. DUPRÉ.

La Guerre en Orient, aux Dardanelles et dans les Balkans. By Gabriel Domergue. Paris: Perrin et Cie. 3 fr. 50. Pp. 241. 1916.

A series of sketches on political conditions in the Balkans before Roumania entered the war and impressions of the Dardanelles and Constantinople. The chapters are short and much information is crowded into them; but, like most war-books, it has no permanent value. Needless to say the writer is enthusiastic regarding the future of France.

S. M. Z.

Devolution in Mission Administration. By Daniel Johnson Fleming. New York: Fleming H. Revell Company. Pp. 310. 1916.

Mission work among Moslems, save in Java, has not yet progressed to such an extent that we face the problems so thoroughly discussed in this most interesting volume. By "Devolution" the author means "the act of devolving, transferring or handing over. In the literature of missions it is increasingly used to denote the transfer of powers, authority and responsibilities from foreign Churches and Missions to indigenous organizations. Where the process is in active operation, as in South India, the word has a place in popular missionary usage. 'Devolution' and 'euthanasia of the Mission' are expressions that stand for attitudes and practice more and more necessary and prevalent amongst missionaries in oriental countries." He considers this process under two headings, Ecclesiastical devolution and Adminstrative devolution. In such fields as Egypt and India, where a considerable number of Moslem converts form a part of the native church, the book should prove useful even to the specialist who devotes his whole time to the Moslem problem and evangelism.

S. M. Z.

Friends over Seas. Henry T. Hodgkin, M.A., M.B. London: Headley Bros. 1916. Pp. 256. 3/6 cloth. 2/6 paper.

This short history of foreign missionary endeavour in the Society of Friends, more especially those of Great Britain and Ireland, from the days of George Fox until now, has been written by the Secretary of the Friends' Foreign Missionary Association on the occasion of its Jubilee this year, but it is of deep interest to those without that Association and will rank beside histories of missions of far greater pretensions. Our readers will turn especially to the account of the work of the F. F. M. A. among Moslems, but we would commend the whole book to their attention and above all the theory of missions interwoven here and there in the historical narrative.

Among missions to Moslems perhaps more than in any other section of the missionary enterprise there are so many small undertakings, doubtless carried on with great devotion, but in comparison to the stronghold of Islam lacking that co-ordination which is necessary for effective advance. To the leaders of such work we would commend what Dr. Hodgkin writes as to the relation between individual duty and the call to the Church. As a true member of the Society of Friends he shows how it has "found a larger place than most religious bodies for the individual 'concerns' of its members. . . . It needs no demonstration to prove that the Society would have been infinitely poorer without them. It is clear that this is one of the chief ways in which God reveals His will to His Church and leads her on to larger service." But he is equally assured that "the 'concern' of the individual must become that of the church if it is to be permanently fruitful". . . . "If the work is not to be one-sided, if the contribution of many different minds is to be made, there must be a readiness to yield the individual judgment to that of the group." (p. 111–113.)

As developing this line of thought Chapter VIII, "The Society of Friends and Foreign Missions," is the strongest contribution in the book. It discusses the gift which Quakerism has to make to the church universal. Although forming one of the smallest Christian bodies numerically, "it began as a universal message and as nothing less can it be worthy of that great beginning." (p. 223.) This message may be summed up very simply: (1) To every human spirit there is possible direct personal intercourse with the Divine Spirit. "There is One, even Christ Jesus, that can speak to thy condition." This One is made known to us in the innermost sanctuary of our own soul. (2) We are to lead men into a living experience and to believe that the Holy Spirit will fall on them as on us at the beginning, *i.e.*, that Christianity will become indigenous wherever preached and received in honest and good hearts. "We are building a structure vaster far than any sectarian view, of wider proportions than any human place." (p. 233.)

E. I. M. Boyd.

Quaker Women: 1650–1690. Mabel Richmond Brailsford. London: Duckworth & Co. 1915. Pp. 337. 6/–.

This account of the early Friends, based on original manuscripts and letters, describes their eager foreign missionary spirit from the first days of the Society. The narrative centres round the women of the period, and of special interest to our readers will be the chapters dealing with Mary Fisher, "the servant-girl apostle to the undergraduates of Cambridge and ambassador to the Grand Turk" at Adrianople. The story of her voyage from England to Italy and Smyrna with several companions and thence alone on foot over the 500–600 miles across the Morea through Greece and Macedonia and over the mountains of Thrace shows of what stuff those early women missionaries were made, unlasting as was their success.

E. I. M. Boyd.

Le Salut au Drapeau. Témoignages de Loyalisme des Musulmans Français. I-Algérie. Collection de la Revue du Monde Musulman. Paris: Ernest Leroux, Éditeur, 28, Rue Bonaparte. 1916.

All those who are following the course of the world war in its relation to Moslem populations, owe a debt of gratitude to the

Revue du Monde Musulman for collecting this remarkable series of letters and poems, all testifying to the loyalty of the people of Algiers toward their French rulers. The letters of the various Moslem leaders and notables are given in facsimile with French translation, and, aside from their political interest, afford the student of Arabic a remarkable collection of script. Numerous photographs add interest to the text. The only question that arises in the mind of the reader is in how far was this testimony spontaneous, and is it representative of *all* the people?

S. M. Z.

In the Hands of the Senoussi. Compiled by Mrs. Gwatkin-Williams from the diary of Captain Gwatkin-Williams R.N., H.M.S. *Tara*. London: C. Arthur Pearson Ltd. 1/–. Pp. 112. 1916.

A thrilling story of the nineteen weeks spent as prisoners in the Lybian desert by the survivors of H.M.S. *Tara* and the horse-transport *Moorina*, and their wonderful escape. But with all its absorbing interest we do not expect to find in such a narrative any accurate account of the Senoussi Derwish order and its beliefs or ritual. For this we need one who, like Burton, will go and live among them and if possible become one of themselves for a few months.

S. M. Z.

Our Summer in the Vale of Kashmir. By F. Ward Denys. 8vo.; pp. 233. Coloured illustrations. Washington, D. C.: James William Bryan Press. 1915.

One of the most attractive books of the season, descriptive of the famously beautiful Vale of Kashmir and with a multitude of splendid illustrations from photographs and in color. "The Valley of Kashmir owes its fame, doubtless, not less to the wild grandeur of the barriers which surround it than to its own intrinsic loveliness. It is this contrast which has led the poets of all nations to speak of it as an 'emerald set in pearls.'" The author is an American, artist-traveller, and knows the land by long residence. The style of the book is, however, disappointing because it is choppy and padded. It is delightful to find a traveller so sympathetic with the work of missions and expressing his frank admiration for it. Among other things the author shows the superstitutions prevalent among the Moslem population. "On the edge of the lake there is a village with a large mosque called Hazrat Bal, because of the supposed hair of the Prophet which is said to be kept there and shown on certain days, when fully half of the city gathers to see it." He tells us that three-fourths of the population is Mohammedan and describes the Shah Hamadan mosque as one of the finest specimens of Kashmir building.

S. M. Z.

Travels in the Middle East. By Captain T. C. Fowle. 8mo. Pp. 281. London: Smith, Elder and Company, 1916. 7/6 d., net. With illustrations and a map.

In these "Impressions by the way in Turkish Arabia, Syria and Persia" the author fulfills his stated purpose by telling us—and that in a most entertaining manner—what it is really like to travel in these comparatively unvisited corners of the world. The solitude of the desert, the primitive simplicity of nomad life, the uncertainties

of caravan journeyings in lands where the Golden Rule is never to do to-day what you can put off till to-morrow, the adventures and dangers without which no Middle Eastern tale would be complete, —all these, and more, are pictured for us so graphically that we, too, feel the Call of the Road, and are moved to hope that whatever changes may result from the war, this part of the East may not become West and thereby lose its fascination and unforgettable charm.

C. B. KELLEIN.

The Grasp of the Sultan. Houghton Mifflin Co. $1.25 net.

The anonymous author of this interesting story writes with considerable knowledge of harem life, but every detail does not ring true. Young Bayazet, the four-year-old prince, is too precocious by far and no Moslem would express the sentiment that "women have no souls." The incidents might have taken place under the old régime, but even then they would have been improbable. A young Englishman, having wasted a fortune, drifts to Constantinople, and is appointed tutor to the Imperial princes. The youngest in his charge is four-year-old Prince Bayazet, whose mother is a beautiful Greek girl of the harem. She has dared to defy the Sultan, who, failing in entreaty, strives to break her will by taking her son away from her. By a ruse of the head eunuch, she recovers the child and obtains the Sultan's pledge that they shall be unmolested for five years. Finally by plot and counter-plot the Greek girl and her child are rescued by the Englishman.

S. M. Z.

Les Peuples des Balkans. By Eugéne Pittard, Honorary member of the Royal Institute of Anthropology of Great Britain and Ireland; member of the Société d'anthropologie de Paris, etc. Attinger Frères, 30 Boulevard Saint Michel, Paris. Pp. 142.

This book gives the reader a series of anthropological sketches of the Balkans, following the geographical order from the North to the South of the Illyrian Alps towards the mouth of the Danube, the Black Sea and the Eagian Sea.

At the beginning is a most interesting chapter explaining the means adopted by the anthropologists for the classification of the human races.

The last 35 pages of the book bear on the peoples who do not belong to any political state such as the Tatars, the Tsigans, the Armenians and the Jews, but who are found in the Peninsula. Then follow four maps illustrating the distributions of these races.

F. J. DUPRÉ.

Songs of the Dardanelles and Other Verses. By Henry Lawson. London: George Harrap & Co. 1916. Price, 2/6.

A collection of war poems by an Austalian in the vein of Kipling but not equal even to the worst of his "Barrack Room Ballads." The spirit of the poet is willing, but the style is weak.

S. M. Z.

NOTES ON CURRENT TOPICS

Missionary Fellowships in Union Theological Seminary, New York

IN ORDER to forward the cause of missions three Missionary Fellowships, each yielding $500 annually, have just been established by Union Theological Seminary. They are intended for missionaries on furlough and for exceptionally qualified natives of mission lands who have been engaged in responsible positions of Christian service.

The aim of these Fellowships is (a) to promote advanced missionary preparation, and (b) to encourage productive missionary scholarship. Applicants, therefore, should be individuals of special purpose or promise who have already completed a course of theological study and have engaged in actual service in missionary countries. In making appointments to these Fellowships, preference will be given to those applicants who wish to use such opportunities in the solution of some particular problem, such as the theory, science, practice or history of missions. In order that these Fellowships may serve the missionary enterprise as widely as possible the incorporation of results in a monograph, while not essential, will be encouraged. The Fellowships are for resident work under the guidance and direction of the Faculty of the Seminary.

These Fellowships are awarded by the Faculty for one year, but the period of tenure may be extended in cases where the quality and value of work or attending circumstances justify it. Each application for a fellowship should be accompanied with full statements, not only from the applicant, but also from suitable officials (such as officers of the Mission, Board, Church). Facts as to the applicant's health, attainment, ability, purpose, etc., will be needed as an adequate basis for deciding the relative qualifications of the applicants for appointments. All applications should be in the hands of the Registrar of the Seminary not later than January first preceding the academic year for which the Fellowship is sought. However, for the academic year 1917–18 applications will be received at once.

Movement Among the Mohammedan Fakiri Sect

C.M.S. missionaries in a country district not far from Calcutta report signs of an incipient mass movement towards Christianity. For some time past there has been an undercurrent at work among a Mohammedan sect called Fakiris, who number about 5,000 and follow a man whom they call their *pir* (priest or spiritual guide). This man came under the influence of Christian teachers years ago, and now says openly that he will become a Christian. When two missionaries visited him recently he gave them a warm welcome. While the missionaries were there a deputation came to the *pir* from a distant district where some of these people live to say they also had been visited by missionaries and liked the teaching—should they accept it? Whereupon the *pir* told them solemnly, "This is the way to God; I shall follow it." Some of the leading Fakiris after-

wards came to the Christmas services at a mission church and listened very devoutly.

Visits to Hausa Cities

During the second half of last year Bishop Tugwell (of Western Equatorial Africa), whose diocese contains 336,000 square miles and a population of about 17,000,000, visited many of the C.M.S. stations in the Southern and Northern Provinces of Nigeria, and travelled some 2,500 miles by sea, river, road, and rail. The Bishop, who was accompanied by his wife, visited Baro, Minna, Kaduna, Zaria, Kano, and Zungeru, etc. He writes: "At Zaria a substantial church has been erected capable of holding 250 persons. On the occasion of a confirmation service 169 persons were present, representing the Churches in Sierra Leone, the Gold Coast, and the Yoruba and Ibo Countries. At Kaduna, the prospective capital of the two Nigerias (in place of Zungeru), the African catechist has erected a church for 200 persons. At a confirmation 120 persons were present." Bishop Tugwell had not visited Kano for seventeen years. He says: "I noticed with great satisfaction that the slave-market no longer exists, and I further noticed improvements in the organization of the great market for which the city of Kano has long been famous."

Rescued from the Turk

El Arish, in the northeast of the Sinai Peninsula, which was captured by British forces on December 31, until the war was occupied by the C.M.S. as an out-station of Gaza, in the Palestine Mission, from which it is sixty miles distant. The Rev. Canon Sterling, M.B. (now on war service), says: "The capture would be hailed by the inhabitants with exclamations of joy and gladness. Two years of Turkish occupation with the inevitable requisitions would have reduced the people to a state of penury and starvation. The most important buildings in the town of El Arish are the old fort and the mosque which adjoins it. The C.M.S. buildings rank next in importance. . . . About twelve years ago I opened a boys' school at the earnest request of the chief inhabitants of the town. The work prospered for some years, until the religious officials began to take alarm at the spread of Christian truth. Opposition arose, and some of the young men suffered persecution. About that time a lady who had visited the town and knew of its needs offered to provide £50 a year for five years towards placing a nurse there. Another lady built for us a commodious house combined with dispensary and waiting-room. The outbreak of the war brought the activities of both nurse and teacher to a close, they having to leave on a British man-o'-war within a fortnight of my last visit in August 1914."

Celebration of Mohammed's Birthday in London

From *The African Times and Orient Review* we learn how the Central Islamic Society celebrated Mohammed's birthday in London. The functions consisted of at homes, garden parties, conversaziones and lectures, arranged by Sheikh M. H. Kidwai of Gadia, the honorary secretary of the Society. They were always well attended in spite of occasional unfavourable weather and even the densest fog of the year. This shows the popularity of the Society. Its first function of this year was celebrated on Saturday, January 6, at Hotel Cecil. It was in memory of the birthday of the Holy Prophet Mohammed.

The number of people attending it was about 150. Different parts of the world were represented. People of different races, colours and creeds came at the invitation of the Central Islamic Society to do honour to the memory of the great Prophet, and met each other with fraternal goodwill.

The Programme was as follows:

(1) Recitation from the Holy Quran. A. R. Saada Bey.
(2) Dua (Prayer) by Haji Khwaja Kamal-uddin.
(3) Persian Ghazal in praise of the Prophet. Mr. Ali Khan.
(4) "A longing for Medina." Miss Bahar Rose Benton.
(5) Address in English. Mr. Marmaduke Pickthall.
(6) Chairman's remarks.
(7) "Manlood." Syed Ehsan El-Bekry Bey.
(8) Interval for Tea.
(9) Eastern Music: Prof. Inayat Khan with the Royal Musicians of Hindustan.
(10) Western Music: Miss Safia Rodman, Miss Sybil Judge, Miss W. Rome, Misses Rosina and Leanora Sammons (Piano and Violin), Miss Carlos.
(11) Thanks to the Guests. Prince Abdul Karim Khan of Sachin (President).

Master of Ceremonies: Duse Mohammed, Eff.

The recitation of the Holy Quran by Saada Bey of Egypt, the prayer by Haji Khwaja Kamal-uddin, the Persian song by Ali Khan and the Indian song by Miss Benton were all very much applauded. The speech of Mr. Pickthall was most suitable for the occasion and very impressive. He gave a short life history of the great Prophet, delineating every phase of his noble character—his unique trust in God, his gentleness to the weak and the poor, his forgiveness of even his worst enemies, his love and affection for his wife Khadija, his courtesy and kindness towards all God's creatures, etc., etc. The whole audience appreciated the speech. Mr. Yusuf Ali's speech was characterised by his usual eloquence. He called upon every Muslim not only to express their verbal admiration of the beauties of the life of the Holy Prophet but also to follow his practices. Mr. Yusuf Ali expressed very great appreciation of the work of the Central Islamic Society. Eastern music was splendid and Western music was also of very high standard and the artistes zealously gave their best.

The Future of West Arabia

After the war there will probably be a revival of trade on the Red Sea coast and the opening of new harbors for the development of the country. Centuries ago the Hejaz was a wealthy place on account of its trade and there is no reason why some of its glories should not revive in the near future when peace is restored and railways are opened. We learn from the Cairo press that a post office has been established at Rabegh on the coast. The correspondent writes as follows:

"The harbour of Rabegh, further to the southward, is one of the best on the coast, and affords a deep water anchorage for fair sized vessels and is also perfectly landlocked. It is an important station on the coast pilgrim route between Medina and Mecca: this although considerably longer than the direct route, is much favoured by pilgrims as it saves the terrible desert journey on the inland caravan track, where wells are few and far between. It is here that the pil-

grims are supposed to don the Ihram, or white pilgrim garb, and make their vows before entering the Holy territory. Thirty miles to the north is Jebel Subh, which is about four thousand five hundred feet high, and is the highest land in this part of Arabia. It is the home of the Beni Subh, a fierce and warlike tribe of Bedouins, who are a branch of the great Zarb tribe living in the district. Rabegh has extensive date groves, and it is here that the pilgrim caravans once more strike inland on their way to Mecca which is about ninety miles distant.

"Jeddah is an open roadstead and owes its importance to the fact that it is the nearest port on the coast to Mecca. Further south however between Loheiya and Hodeida is a magnificent harbour inside Kamaran Island. It is thirteen miles long by three in width and over the whole of its area has a depth of water to take the largest ships afloat. It is also perfectly landlocked and could be made a port with unlimited possibilities. Many more harbours might be mentioned but enough has been said to show that when Arabia once more revives it will not lack sea communication."

Javanese Marriage Customs

The People's Magazine (Colombo) recently published an interesting article on marriage customs in Java which was summarised in *The Review of Reviews* as follows:

"The custom is for the young man to get his front teeth filed down almost to the gums and stain what is left of them to a shiny lacquer-like black before going to the priest, who makes him sit up to his chin in the cold water of the mosque tank, where the priest, Koran in hand (makes) him repeat the (marriage) formula. The bride lives on a diet of three teaspoonfuls of rice and a glass of hot water per day, so as to lose flesh and gain beauty."

The bride does not go to the mosque, but the bridegroom is married to her representative. Shortly afterwards, in gala attire, riding a white pony, he repairs, at the head of a procession, to his bride's house:

"On arrival there the bride, supported by two bridesmaids, slowly comes out of her house, and the two, with measured step, advance towards each other and halt. Two small bags containing betel and other spices are handed to them, and they throw these silken bags at each other full in the face, and the party who aims the missile the surest is supposed to take the lead in domestic affairs afterwards. The bride is then handed a basin of water and a towel, and she proceeds to wash her husband's feet in token of loyalty and loving submission. When she has done this the bridegroom takes her by the hand, raising her, and leads her to the drawing-room of the house, where a piece of richly ornamented matting is spread in the centre. She squats down on this holding a handkerchief up to the bridegroom into which he throws money, rice, and some other things, signifying that he is well able to support her and by this act binding himself to look after her through life. The bridegroom then sits down by the side of the bride and feeds her with three balls of rice and himself partakes of what is left in the plate."

Meeting of the East and West

Al-Manar (Cairo) gives an account in a recent issue of the death of the Sheikh-Ul-Islam in the Philippine Islands quoted largely from an Arabic paper published in New York. The same issue informs us that

Al-Manar now has a regular agent in the United States at Huntington, W. Virginia. One wonders how many subscribers the magazine has across the Atlantic! An equally significant item appeared in the *Sudan Times* stating that Said Ali-El-Mahdi, son of the Mahdi, has subscribed L. E. 100 to the Kitchener's Memorial Fund!

A New Mosque at El-Nahud

The following account is taken from the *Sudan Times*, January 19, 1917, and is here given without note or comment:

"Our Nahud correspondent writes that the corner stone of a new Mosque at El-Nahud was laid in the presence of a big assembly, including Mr. R. A. Bence-Pembroke, Inspector Kordofan Province, the Kadi, officers and officials of the district.

"The Kadi delivered an eloquent speech urging those present to subscribe generously to the funds required for this worthy cause.

"The Mamur followed in an able speech pointing out the fact that it was Mr. Bence-Pembroke who initiated the idea, and stating that His Excellency Sir Reginald Wingate during his last visit to Nahud subcribed £E50 towards the erection of this new Mosque, setting a good example to all.

"Sheikh Mohammed Hamad-El-Nil, Chief Sheikh of the Kadaria Order, delivered a short speech thanking Mr. Bence-Pembroke for his initiative in this matter and the Sudan Government for their tireless efforts in promoting the material and moral progress of the people of the Sudan.

"Mr. Bence-Pembroke then stood up and addressed those present in Arabic thanking the speakers for their kind words and expressing his best wishes for their success in completing the work they had begun."

A Christian Queen in Abyssinia

The war has brought its changes to every part of the world not least to the old kingdom of Abyssinia. The story as told by the Paris *Illustration* runs:

"The revolution in Ethiopia shows the influence of the war upon that Christian land, and it has resulted in favor of the Allies.

"The young Emperor Lij Yasu became a Moslem under—it is alleged—German influence. Notwithstanding the discontent aroused among the Abyssinian princes by the apostacy and libertinism of the Emperor, he managed to maintain himself in power by the aid of the Mohammedan tribes on the eastern border and by moving the capital of the Empire from Addis Abeba to Harrar. Ras Rafari, Governor of the Province of Harrar—a son of the famous Ras Makonnen—whom Lij Yasu had tried to put out of the way, placed himself at the head of the opposition which was composed of all the ministers and native princes, and he proposed the dethronement of the Negus—as the Emperor is called.

"On the 27th of September Maskal was celebrated, the national feast-day, and at Addis Abeba the supreme head of the national church, the Abuna Matheos, solemnly released the Abyssinian nation from its oath of allegiance and declared Lij Yasu deposed from the throne. Amid scenes of much popular enthusiasm, he proclaimed as Empress Zaouditou, younger daughter of the late Emperor Menelik II, and installed as Regent and heir to the throne Ras Rafari. A tentative rebellion was promptly suppresst, some thirty chiefs were put to death, others were thrown into prison, and order was restored."

Meanwhile, the ex-Negus made a fight for his rights, *l'Illustration* proceeds:

"The deposed ruler, who was at Harrar when these events took place, attempted to re-establish his throne, aided by his father the powerful Ras Michael. The army of the new Government promptly joined battle with the troops of Lij Yasu, and on October 27, after a second and very sanguinary engagement, captured Ras Michael.

"Thus terminated a tragedy that was started by German and Turkish intrigue. Ethiopia remains Christian, while our Moslem colonial Empire and that of England have withstood all the assaults of our enemies."

The Literary Digest.

The Fast of Al Ashura

This day (November 6 in the calendar last year) is observed throughout the Moslem world and especially in Egypt, as one of the lesser fasts in Islam. Gifts are given to the poor and good things provided for those at home. It is a day of special praising and intercession. An interesting fact is that doubtless the observance of the day goes back to Judaism.

Mohammedan tradition is a unit on the assertion that the Prophet knew nothing of the Atonement Day until he came to Medina in 622. "When Mohammed came to Medina, he saw that the Jews fasted upon the day Ashura. Said he, 'What is this?' They answered, 'It is an "excellent day," the day on which God saved Israel from their enemy, whereupon Moses fasted.' Said he, 'I have a nearer claim to Moses than you have'; then he fasted and commanded others to fast also" (Bukhari el. Krehl, 1, 497).

Mohammed fixed upon the tenth of Muharram as the Ashura day. This leaning toward the Jews was evidently displeasing to some of the followers of the Prophet. "They said, 'O Prophet, it is a day celebrated by Jews and Christians' (the last two words are a senseless addition of later times). He answered, 'Then, let us celebrate it on the ninth, in order to distinguish ourselves from the Jews'; but the next year at this time the Prophet was already dead." Some say that, in order to distinguish it from the Jewish fast, Mohammed said, "Fast on the ninth and on the tenth"; according to others, "Fast on Ashura, but fast also on the day before and the day after." Another tradition is that he did not want it celebrated in as joyous a manner as did the Jews, who were accustomed to deck out their wives with their finest jewelry and dresses.

But there were those who, according to the commentators to the Koran (sura 11, 46) connected the original celebration of Ashura with Noah, who was said to have landed on Mt. Judi on the tenth of Muharram and, out of thankfulness, to have fasted on that day (Baidawi, Comm. on Koran i, 435; Zamahshari, "Al-Kashshaf," i, 614). Still others, according to traditions gathered by Al-Biruni, said that on this day God took compassion on Adam; Jesus was born; Moses was saved from Pharoah, and Abraham from the fire of Nebuchadnezzar; Jacob regained his eyesight; Joseph was drawn out of the ditch; Solomon was invested with the royal power; the punishment was taken away from the people of Jonah; Job was freed from his plagues; the prayer of Zacharias was granted, and John was born to him (Al Biruni, "Al-Athar al-Bakiyyah," ed. Sachau, p. 326).

When Mohammed, at a later period, turned away from the Jews and instituted the Ramadan fast as a counterpart of the Christian Lent, the Ashura became a non-obligatory fast-day. As such it is still celebrated in Mohammedan countries and is called "The Little Fast."

Reforms at Mecca

According to the Cairo press a number of reforms have been introduced at Mecca by the new king of the Hejaz. He has increased the salaries of the officials of the sacred shrine of the Kaaba to three times what they used to be under the Turkish régime. This increase affects some 460 persons.

A Health-Bureau has been established at Mecca, with the necessary staffs of physicians, chemists and clerks. Energetic efforts are being put forth to provide equipments and other necessaries for the Government Hospital and its clinic.

The King of the Hejaz is also solicitous about the introduction of other improvements in Mecca, among which the widening of some of its principal streets is now occupying his Majesty's attention, and the Ministry of Public Works has received orders to expedite work on these urgent reforms.

Every Missionary a Colporteur

Not every missionary is a colporteur, any more than every missionary is a doctor or a school teacher or a preacher. Every missionary should be a specialist in his own department of the work, and every missionary should be an earnest Christian worker on fire to win souls, but each should strive to win men for Christ through the agency of his own department. When this ideal is put into practice, every department of missionary work will become evangelistic and soul winning. Any organization or department which does not daily practice this ideal, has no right to exist in missionary organization.

Probably every missionary may be able to sell at least a few copies of the Scriptures every year. I most emphatically deprecate the practice of giving away the Scriptures free, and I wish that detrimental practice could cease at once and for always. That which costs nothing is apt to be valued at nothing.

The secret of selling the Scriptures is, first, God's blessing and co-operation; second, common sense in doing business; and third, a good field. I never apologize to a Moslem for offering him the Scriptures for sale. He believes not only in the Koran, but also in the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments. I approach him from this point of view and try to show him that I am offering him a book which he should possess and in which he believes. If he objects that the Koran superseded the Bible, or that the Bible as we have it is not true to the original, I meet him kindly with the stock of arguments which should be perfectly familiar to every missionary working among Moslems. I try to follow the psychology of being a good salesman and a good mixer.

Meshed Station was opened on November 11, 1911, but for lack of a doctor, our little ten bed hospital was not opened till December 20, 1915. In the waiting room of the hospital we have placed a glass front show case in which we display a full assortment of the Scriptures in some twenty languages and many dialects. The first Scriptures were sold in this waiting room on January 14, 1916,

and in less than six months up to June 30, 1916, we sold in this waiting room 4,166 copies of the Scriptures. These books were in 12 languages, 1 diglot, and 62 dialects. The largest number of books sold in a single day was 81. We have had scores of interesting experiences in the hospital waiting room, which limited space forbid my relating.

Owing to political conditions, the operations of highway robbers on the roads leading into Meshed, and the mistaken impression that Meshed itself has been in a constant state of disorder with danger to life and property, not nearly so many pilgrims nor Afghan traders have come to Meshed as in ordinary years. Nevertheless, we have had motly crowds at the hospital consisting not only of residents of Meshed, Jews, Armenians, Russians and other foreigners, shrine students, etc., but very largely made up of people from all parts of Persia, from Karbala, Russia, the Causasus, Turkistan, Afghanistan, and India.

A merchant came into the waiting room and said: "A year ago I bought a Testament from you and now I want a Bible." This is a common experience.

A man to whom I offered a book, refused point blank to buy. I finally persuaded him to buy a Gospel of Matthew. He sat down and began reading it with his two friends. An hour later he voluntarily bought a Testament.

It has become popular for all classes of people to buy the Scriptures and even the illiterates buy them, saying they will get some one to read to them.

One morning six Afghans from Kabul came into the waiting room, three of whom were sayyids, and one of them said: "We did not come to see the doctor professionally but just to call. We have seen your books in Kabul, and being in Meshed we wanted to call on you. We have seen in our country lots of the books you have sold." They bought several books.

In itinerating among the cities and villages of the provinces, I make it a practice to thoroughly canvass each one, going from shop to shop and offering the Scriptures for sale. In one town of 20,000 inhabitants which I recently visited, the sales were about 500 copies in a couple of weeks. In another town of 8,000 the sales were over 700 in a few days. I have had similar experiences in other cities and villages. I have visited all the cities of the province and 189 villages, in all of which I have sold Scriptures and preached in the bazaars. Since Meshed Station was opened a little less than five years ago, the sales of Scriptures have amounted to 17,808 copies in 19 languages, 2 diglots, and nearly 100 dialects. Some hundreds of these have been sold in job lots into Turkistan and Afghanistan.

L. F. ESSELSTYN

Meshed, Persia.

SURVEY OF PERIODICALS

I. GENERAL

Islam and Animism. Rev. S. M. Zwemer, D.D. *Blessed be Egypt*, London. April 1917.

Islam at Its Best. Rev. S. M. Zwemer, D.D. *Constructive Quarterly*, New York. December 1916.

Friends and the Moslem. G. K. Lewis. *Our Missions*, London. April 1917.

A brief consideration of the approach of Friends to the Moslem.

II. SOURCES OF ISLAM IN ARABIA

III. HISTORY OF ISLAM UP TILL RECENT TIMES

The Prophet's Letters to his Contemporaneous Potentates. Muhammed Ali. *Islamic Review*, Woking. February 1917.

A description of the letters from the Prophet to Chosroes Pervez, king of Persia; Maqauqis, king of Egypt; Heraclius of Syria and Munzar, ruler of Yamen. The text of the letter to Muqauqis is reproduced as discovered by French travellers at a convent in Upper Egypt in 1858 and removed to Constantinople. Also the original of the letter to Munzar is stated to have been shown to Khwaja Kamal-ud-din by the present head of the Ayyobi family at Damascus in September 1914, "where the former went in search of the ancient MSS of the Qur'an belonging to the early centuries of the Muslim era in order to refute the baseless charges of Dr. Mingana." The Kwaja compared the letter to Munzar with a facsimile copy of the letter to Maqauqis and "on examination he not only found that the substance of both the letters was the same but that both seemed to come from the same handwriting and in the same character."

La Syrie Franque. Louis Madelin. *Revue des Deux Mondes*, Paris. March 15, 1917.

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Baghdad: the city of the Caliphs. *The Times*, London. March 12, 1917.

An historical account of the city down to 1638; published on the fall of Baghdad into British hands.

Die Verbreitung des Islams in Togo und Kamerun. Diedrich Westermann und Eugen Mittwoch. *Die Welt des Islams*, Band II. Heft 2–4.

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THE MOSLEM WORLD

A quarterly review of current events, literature, and thought among Mohammedans and the progress of Christian Missions in Moslem lands

Editor: SAMUEL M. ZWEMER, D.D.

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THE MOSLEM WORLD

VOL. VII OCTOBER, 1917 NO. 4

EDITORIAL

GREAT BRITAIN AND AMERICA AS ALLIES IN THE NEAR EAST

THE entry of the United States into the World-wide War as an ally of the Entente Powers has been warmly welcomed by all lovers of justice and right. The whole of the Anglo-Saxon world is now united as one man against the forces of tyranny and wrong. From a religious as well as from the political aspect we feel sure our readers will thank God for this alliance and pray that it may have far-reaching results for good in many directions.

America and Britain (including in the latter term the various British dominions and colonies) are the two great representatives of evangelical Christianity in the world. Both have long been engaged in mission work in the Near East. The work done in India by American missionaries has been very great in amount, and has sometimes been said to be more extensive than that of British missionary societies. They have long been toiling away in the Turkish Empire among Armenians, Arabs, Syrians, Turks and the other races of Asia Minor, Mesopotamia, Palestine, and European Turkey. In Egypt their work is invaluable. We need do no more than remind our readers how the schools, the hospitals, and the evangelistic labours of the American Mission have affected Persia during the last half century. The alliance between America and Great Britain in political matters is still very recent: but in religious work in the Near East (not to mention China and Japan) the two commonwealths have long been associated with one another to the glory

of God. It may well be hoped that henceforth our labour will be even more closely united than heretofore: more in harmony it can hardly be. The very existence of this QUARTERLY is in itself a proof of this.

It is natural for all engaged in or even interested in missionary work to ask themselves the question, What special effect on such work and its development will this new political alliance have? It is at present impossible to answer this question at all fully. But we may well hope and pray that one result may be that the general tendency which we fancy British politicians have long shown to favour one particular Oriental religion will be modified by American influence. The United States' Government has been much more decided in upholding the Christian faith and in encouraging Christian missionary undertakings in the Near East than has the British Foreign Office. No doubt the latter had, or fancied it had, excellent reasons for its attitude; but we can hardly be blamed for thinking such conduct mistaken, and for hoping that the experience of Christian work in both Asia and Africa which American missionary societies have gained will be brought to bear on their Government in such a maner that the latter may lead the British Government to give greater freedom to missionary effort in certain lands than they have given hitherto. Through fear of political complications the latter has, in cases well known to us, actually discouraged mission work in certain districts and tribes. In some parts of Africa there are large provinces in which the preaching of the Gospel is actually forbidden in this twentieth century by the representatives of Great Britain. America, on the other hand, does not seem ever to have taken the same line of action, or to have shown favour to one non-Christian religion more than to another. She has tried to hold the scales even, making no difference in this respect between Christians and holders of any other faith as far as religion is concerned, but trying to secure justice for all.

In some parts of the world the English Government has acted on the quite erroneous belief that the Christian missionary is hated by those to whom he brings the good

news of God's love in Christ Jesus, and that fanaticism will be excited if the Gospel is preached. Hence comes the idea that it is the wisest policy to discourage, and in some bigoted lands to forbid altogether, all attempts to evangelise the people, lest political trouble should result. Of course experience has disproved this theory again and again, but the falsehood dies hard. We know the old story of the officer in Peshawer who, when certain Christian officers of his regiment were collecting money for the establishment of a mission in that fanatical city, having in vain protested against what he declared to be a suicidal step, gave one rupee "to buy a pistol for the first missionary." It was not a missionary but the officer himself who was killed when the mutiny broke out.

The fact is that in the Near East the inhabitants of the various lands, and more especially the adherents of the religion which is the most prevalent in them, cannot understand how it is possible for a man to be a Christian without trying to obey our Lord's "Marching Orders" to His Church. Thinking that a Briton or an American must be a Christian, they expect him to try to spread the Christian faith by all fair means. They know that Christianity does not permit violence to be used with that object in view, and therefore they do not fear any violent attack on their own religion. But if these people find English officials endeavouring, as such, to *hinder* the spread of the Gospel, the conclusion is drawn that either these officials are atheists (and atheists are in the Near East often regarded as people who should be shot like mad dogs), or that there is a deep plot against the religion of the land, and that the officials are engaged in it and are trying to put people off their guard in order to succeed in their nefarious design. In either case there is a tendency to consider the Englishman who does not take a Christian stand as an open or a secret foe. The Christian missionary, on the other hand, is often known to be a true friend.

It is only since the preaching of the Gospel in India has been freely permitted that all danger of another mutiny (especially one based on ignorance of the true nature of

Christianity, such as made it possible for the "greased cartridge" fiction to be credited) has vanished.

We trust, therefore, that one result of the welcome alliance between England and the United States will be that the British Foreign Office may learn to imitate the American in securing for Christian missions everywhere, even in the most ignorant and bigoted countries, "a fair field and no favour," which is all we can possibly desire. This will take away the scandal of "Christian" governments turning a cold shoulder on Christian work, while showing favour to some other religion. The latter policy is unjust and unwise, even from a political point of view. A proof of this is afforded by the failure of the Kaiser's recent effort to deceive Muslims and induce them to regard him as the champion of Islam. He even permitted it to be publicly stated in Persia and elsewhere that he himself had become a Muslim. Yet he has not succeeded in rallying all Muslims to his side. His non-success should dissuade others from posing as the upholders of a faith they do not hold. Orientals are not so easily deceived; and of course no Christian man, politician or not, would adopt such an attitude. We feel sure that the alliance between England and America will have a good effect in the Near East in religious as well as in political matters. We hope that, in the time to come after the war, the two kindred nations will help one another as nobly in taking a Christian stand in Eastern politics as they are now doing in the Western battlefield.

W. St. Clair Tisdall.

Deal, England.

A PLEA FOR LITERATURE IN VERNACULAR ARABIC

THE following thoughts have been suggested to me by the reading of a little work by M. Arsène Darmesteter, the French philologist and lexicographer (d. 1888), entitled "La vie des mots étudiée dans leur significations." (Paris, Librairie Delagrave 3 ième édition, 1889.) Although treating only of the French language, this work deals with phenomena, especially in the Introduction, that are common to other languages also. In quoting from this author, I have translated the passages into English.

This article may be considered a continuation of that which appeared in THE MOSLEM WORLD for January 1914, entitled: "A Plea for the Use of Versions of Scripture and of other Literature in the Vulgar Arabic." In that article I wrote, "There is a continuous evolution of all language, and the tongues which exercise the greatest living influence to-day and possess an ever-growing literature are just those that cultivate in literature the living form of the language, while not neglecting what the past has produced." The language spoken by a people reveals the soul of that people, and the modes of its thought. The forms of the language furnish the mould in which their thoughts take consistent shape. In like manner, the nearest approach to the soul of a people is by way of the language that they constantly use. Darmesteter says, "But leaving aside these two questions of origin, let us consider language in the manifestations of its life. Being immediate forms of thought, instruments created by it to express itself, languages are so many mirrors in which are reflected the habits of mind and the psychology of the peoples that speak them."

On the constant evolution of every living tongue, an evolution which nothing can finally arrest, our author

says, "Every tongue is in a state of perpetual evolution. At any one moment of its existence, a language is in a state of equilibrium more or less durable by reason of the action of two opposed forces, one of which, the conservative force, tends to maintain it in its actual state; the other, the revolutionary force, tends to push it in new directions."

Of the first of these two tendencies, he says: "The action of a civilization, however humble it may be, the respect of tradition, the care with which the pronunciation of the child is watched by those round about it, a natural good taste and the instinctive desire for choiceness of language; at a higher stage of literary development, the influence of the sacred books, as for example, the Bible in the countries of Germanic speech, and the Koran in Moslem countries; or, at a higher stage still, the influence of literary works which by their inherent beauty command universal admiration and inspire in the minds of future generations veneration for their incomparable form: these are the principal causes which maintain the purity of a language. They are embraced in one word—the cultivated expression of thought."

On the other side he says: "In face of this tendency there arises the revolutionary force, which shows its action in *phonetic alterations* in the pronunciation, *analogical changes* in the grammar, and *neologisms* in the lexicology."

Without entering into the operation of these changes in Arabic during its evolution, as they can be observed in comparing the living speech with the classical tongue, we turn to the conclusion of the author: "The life, the health of language consists in following as slowly as possible the revolutionary force which will always carry it along rapidly enough, by holding strongly to the conservative principles"; and again: "The proper course to be followed by a language consists in yielding gradually to the innovating force, allowing itself to be held in at the same time by the conservative tendency; otherwise the transformations would be too rapid and the language would not preserve its unity."

The author then inquires: "What will happen if one of these two forces alone is in operation, holding the other in respect and nullifying its action? When the revolutionary, neologic, force remains inert and the language is in a state of immobility, there is then danger for that language. Certainly those peoples whose civilization is without change and without history, can keep their language intact indefinitely; there being no change in thought, no need is felt of a change in the expression of thought. *But when a false respect for tradition prohibits a language from following the course of ideas and there arises a contradiction between the thought of a nation and the form in which that thought is clothed, then the language may exhaust itself and perish.* We have a remarkable example of this in the classical Latin, the Latin of the writers and of higher Roman society, which, *refusing to follow the popular Latin in the free play of its development, became crystallized in its respect for the consecrated form*, and towards the end of the empire perished of inanition, leaving its place to that popular idiom so full of life and force that it gave birth to a numerous family of languages and a still greater number of dialects, fully equipped for the conquest on its own account of that empire which the other abandoned." (Italics mine. P. S.)

The analogy is very close between the history of the classical Latin and the classical Arabic in their attitude towards the respective popular tongues born of them or closely related to them. Although the Latin, with more or less of classical purity, remained in use as a literary medium long after the period assigned by the author as the time of its decay, it was only as a dead language. No doubt its persistence as a literary medium was greatly due to its being the language of the Roman Catholic Church and hence, up till the time of the Renaissance and the Reformation, the language of learning and religion. So also the classical Arabic, in a more or less purely classical form, is in use to-day exclusively as a literary language, but is not the living language of the Arabic-speaking peoples. The scission that was produced or rather accentuated as the classical Latin refused to follow the

popular speech in its development is paralleled by what occurred in the case of Arabic. The classical Arabic, for the same reasons as the classical Latin, with the added religious reason, more powerful still, refused to recognize, to say nothing of following, the popular Arabic, to its own detriment and that of the living speech. For surely if the spoken tongue had been cultivated in literature throughout its history, the result in the modern speech would have been much superior to its present state, and there would not have been the wide gulf that actually exists between the language of books and that of speech.

This same analogy between the Latin and the Arabic is noted by Renan in his "Histoire des langues sémitiques," from which I gave a long quotation translated into English in the article above referred to. He says: "The literary Arabic is not as some philologists would have it, a wholly artificial language; the vulgar tongue, on the other hand, was not born entirely, as some have claimed, of the corruption of the literary language; but there existed an ancient language, richer and more synthetic than the vulgar tongue, less regulated than the literary form of the language, out of which the two have developed in opposite ways. We may compare the primitive Arabic to what the Latin language must have been before the grammatical labours which regularized it, about the time of the Scipios; the literary Arabic to the Latin language as we find it in the monuments of the century of Augustus; and the vulgar Arabic to the simplified Latin spoken about the sixth century, and which resembled in many ways more the ancient Latin than that of Virgil or Cicero. . . . There took place with the Arabs, in the first century after the Hegira, what has been seen every time that a great mass of diverse populations finds itself all at once subjected to a language too learned for it; the people who only seek to make themselves mutually understood, make for themselves a tongue more simple, more analytic, less burdened with grammatical flexions. Arabic could not escape entirely the tendency which leads all languages towards a dissolution, caused by the incapacity in which

the descendents find themselves of compressing their thought into the synthetic forms of the language of their fathers."

Since, however, the popular Arabic in its evolution has not been developed under the aegis of a popular literature, but has followed its innovating tendency only partially restrained by the influence of the classical literature, which has become more and more remote from the life of the common people, what should be the attitude of the Christian missionary, whose chief concern is the uplifting of the masses by means of the Gospel, which he seeks to make the chief formative influence in their moral and spiritual development? Seeing that the masses are ignorant of the classical tongue, and in view of the difficulty for them to learn and appreciate the highly developed grammatical and syntactical forms, which no longer correspond to their modes of thought, what *moral*, *religious*, or *psychological* reason can be evoked against literature in the present-day form of the language?

I know that some consider the spoken tongue to be so poor and incorrect as to be beneath serious notice, and in consequence have never thought it worthy of sympathetic study and research. That is not, however, the tendency of present-day linguistic science. Our author says: "The most varied tongues, from the most august to the humblest, are noted, examined and investigated in their history and their reciprocal relations. A vast enquiry is going on to establish a complete catalogue of all the languages spoken to-day on the surface of the globe, and special effort is bestowed on the determination of their origins, the tracing of their developments, and the discovery of the forms through which have passed the pronunciation, the lexicology and the grammar of these tongues, and in the measure of the possible to recover behind their history, the history of their different civilizations."

My own experience in the study of the living tongue, on the contrary, is the discovery of its extent and the wealth of words and expressions in use, a richness developed, naturally, according to its own genius, and not to be judged by the standards of the classical tongue.

One might ask further, what *linguistic* reason can be urged against *a written literature* in a language which is a *fact of linguistic development?* For those able to read and understand the classical Arabic there is material enough for them to draw upon, although my experience is that a very limited number even of those who can read the literary language have a sufficiently extensive vocabulary to benefit fully by that knowledge, and the use of the dictionary is almost nil, at least in the Barbary States. Words outside the vocabulary of daily life are almost always learnt *orally*.

But for the great mass who have never studied the literary tongue, is it reasonable to leave them without literature in their own speech? A considerable number have learnt the letters and can read the words but are discouraged by being often unable to understand the vocabulary of the literary language, to say nothing of the fine mechanism of its syntax.

If it be urged that literature in the common speech would induce an indisposition in the majority to obtaining a knowledge of the classical language and literature, it may be replied that *the choice is not between literature in the classical as opposed to the modern form of the language, but between literature in the modern speech and no Arabic literature for them at all.* On the contrary, I believe that being able to read the modern Arabic will be an incentive to some at least to become acquainted with their classical literature. Others fear, perhaps, that such a policy if followed would tend to the degeneration of the literary Arabic. But it is a fact that *as far as the living language is concerned it is the people that rule and not the savants and the grammarians.* As our author says: "The ancients had already recognized this fact: the people is sovereign in the matter of language: 'Populus in sua potestate, singuli in illius,' said Varro, and before him Plato: 'The people is in matter of language a very excellent master.' Voltaire recognized it while deploring it: 'It is sad that in the matter of languages, as in other customs more important, it is the populace that directs the leaders of a nation.'

"Universal suffrage has not always existed in politics, but it has ever existed in the matter of language; there, the people is all powerful, and also infallible, because its very errors sooner or later, have the force of law. Language is indeed a natural creation and not a rational and logical construction. Mankind, in order to communicate their ideas, have recourse to an assemblage or system of natural signs which are in constant modification, in time and space, under the action of physiological and psychological laws; but from the moment that the greater part of men understand each other by the aid of this system, it has rendered all the services that one has the right to expect of it. For that very reason *even logical errors and anomalies, from the time that they are accepted by all, cease to be anomalies and become legitimate forms of thought.* This is the foundation of the principle that '*in the force of usage alone, is found the rule of language.*'

" 'Quem penes arbitrium est jus et norma loquendi.' "

At the end of this section Darmesteter says: "*Language follows its course indifferent to the complaints of the grammarians and the laments of the purists.*" (Italics are mine. P. S.)

These are facts in Arabic as a spoken language as in all other tongues. Why not recognize it and use this pliable instrument in the education and evangelization of the Arabic-speaking peoples? What would not linguists give to find more abundant traces of the popular Arabic throughout its history up to the present time? But nearly all such traces have been effaced by the purists, although perhaps sufficient remain, here and there, in popular songs of an undoubted early date, to enable us to get a more or less clear idea of the North African Arabic at the time of the Arab invasion in the eleventh century.

It must not be thought that what we advocate is a recent innovation. Ibn Khaldoun in his "History of the Berbers" (written 1378) observed that the North African Arabs of his day had already corrupted the pure language of Modhar and of the Koran, changing the grammatical inflections and allowing the use of solecisms. He mentions the epic songs of the Beni-Hilal. Of these pieces he

says that they are not without regularity and cadence as well as a certain facility of expression, *in them, however, the rules of the inflectional syntax* (إعراب) *are quite neglected;* but says he, "We have already proved in our 'Prolegomena' that the absence of the grammatical inflections does not influence the exact expression of thought." The purists of his day despised these productions of the popular genius, considering them without value because of the non-observance of the literary syntax and prosody. Fragments of these "chansons de geste" have been preserved in the oral tradition of North Africa.*

To come to more recent times, the Arabic-speaking Jews have long employed the popular language to convey religious and moral instruction as well as to amuse, not only orally, as in the traditional Targums of the Torah and the Haphtarah given in Arabic in the Rabbinical schools, but also in writing, although always in the Hebrew character. Some of this popular literature has no pretense to literary style or correctness, being produced often without care or ability, but other portions of it are of quite a good order. I have before me as I write the first fasciclus of a work published at Tunis in 1903 in the

*Compare the following extract translated from "Les Arabes en Berbérie du XIe au XIVe siecle," by M. Georges Marçais, Docteur-ès-lettres, page 9: "A notable portion of these poems (epic poems of the Beni-Hilal) and not the least interesting for us, are neither printed nor even written, but are preserved in a fragmentary state by oral tradition. This is especially the case with those fragments spread abroad throughout North Africa, which allude to the 'taghib,' that is, 'the march towards the West,' the exodus of the tribes towards the countries of the setting sun. The exploits of the Beni-Hilal have originated an extremely abundant literature of a singularly wide area of dispersion. They form one of the favorite themes of story-tellers in the cafés of Cairo; they are found in Upper Nubia and Kordofan; they are mixed up with the legends of the Barbary States, in Kabylia as well as in Morocco, in the South of Tunisia as in the region of Tiaret and of Mascara, where Bel has been able to gather an important episode (El-Djazia).

"That these narrations are ancient no one can doubt. They were well-known in the time of Ibn Khaldoun. The learned had nothing but contempt for these productions of the popular genius; the Arab sheikhs themselves regarded them as of no value; but the author of the 'Prolegomena' with his clear-sighted eclectism found pleasure in listening to them and did not judge them unworthy of a place in his work; he reproduced from them some lengthy fragments and gives a summary analysis of those dealing with the departure of the Arabs towards the Barbary States. (Cf. Ibn Khaldoun I, 23 to 25; Prolegomena III, 361 to 368.)

"Utilized with prudent criticism, these texts are documents of the first order for the study of the language of the nomades by whose means the 'arabicization' of the Maghreb was accomplished."

ordinary Arabic. It is entitled ספר אהלי צדיקים מעשיות and contains Midrashim on Enoch, Noah, Abraham, Sodom and Isaac. There are also published translations of the Haggada for the different feasts in the popular Arabic, although these will probably gradually disappear before the same kind of thing in French, of which I have lately seen a copy, but these Arabic publications in the Hebrew character have long served a useful purpose, both for religious instruction and for amusement. Are Christian missionaries going to be less wise than the children of Jacob?

It is useless to try and convince oneself that the language has not changed, and that the difference between the forms of speech and the literary grammatical forms are only mistakes due to ignorance, as Bresnier held, as appears from his Grammar (Cours de Langue Arabe accompagné d'un Traité du Langage Usuel), where treating of the latter, he says "As I have already said, this cannot be a Grammar; it is an exposition of the popular corruption of the forms of the language indicated in the preceding chapters [on the literary Arabic]. This corruption is capable of extension or of restriction according to the degree of instruction or education of individuals, and according to the usage received in different places. *In the case of educated persons this corruption maintains itself within the limits of the toleration accorded in all languages to familiar discourse;* with the vulgar mass it knows no bounds but those of the arbitrary instinct of analogies and of the hesitations resulting from an instruction absolutely nil or without solid foundation." (Italics are the author's own.)

This I feel gives a false view of the case. The mother-tongue of all the Arabs, learned and unlearned alike, the living and only language used for the ordinary affairs of life is the popular Arabic, *with its so-called corruptions, which are now become laws of speech.* The literary language is always more or less an acquisition, and in so far as the modern speech differs from it, by so much is the difficulty increased of learning the language of literature. If there is any tolerance or condescension on the part of those who

have acquired the literary language, in their use of their mother-tongue, it appears to me to be the height of snobbishness. Be this as it may, *in this matter it is the people that rule and not the purist and the littérateur.*

Is there any valid reason, then, why only the literary Arabic should be written and printed? Why not use the vernacular Arabic in writing and in print as well as in speech, for by its means, to use the language of a French writer one could "popularize a crowd of new notions useful to the natives who could assimilate them without effort." An *oral literature*, a popular poetry in the vernacular Arabic does already exist, which appeals to the minds of the common people. Why not seize upon this means of communicating religious, moral, and educational knowledge? There is a *good* Arabic speech very expressive and graphic and rich—in expressions and vocabulary. A child of ordinary ability can soon learn the letters and combine them into words. The vocabulary he has at hand already in the daily speech. In case of necessity if a word or expression is wanting in the ordinary speech of a district, it may be found in the speech of another district, and at all times one can draw from the classical store.

Islam will not and cannot do this work of "*Vulgarisation*," to use a French expression. To do such a *popular* work it would have to throw overboard the doctrine of the inviolable sanctity of the Koranic Arabic. But I can see no reason that should hinder Christianity and the enlightening energies of European civilization from using to the full *this most potent of all means for the uplifting of a people—its living speech, the revelation of, and the nearest means of reaching, its mind and heart and soul.*

PERCY SMITH.

Constantine, Algiers.

THE NATIONAL MISSION AND MOHAMMEDANISM.*

AT A time like this, when the heart of the nation is deeply stirred, and when the Church of Christ is seeking to claim all that is best in the nation for God and for the accomplishment of God's purposes, it is impossible to ignore the question, *What about Mohammedanism?* The question is not impertinent. The National Mission was not merely a call to England to recognise certain internal diseases and to seek their cure; it was a call to a self-surrender to the God of the whole universe and to the knowing and doing of His Will in all its length and breadth. Therefore "nothing human do we deem alien from us," nothing that directly touches the Will of God for humanity, certainly nothing of such towering immensity and human importance as Mohammedanism. And so we say again, *What about Mohammedanism?*

What is Christianity? Is England clearer on the answer to this question since the National Mission? Has the stringent appeal of social questions made it appear that Christianity is simply a sort of keen social sense? or, if theology must be included, then simply a belief in some dimly-known Divine Being? No such thing can be imagined. If it were so, then indeed there would be no conceivable relation between the National Mission and Mohammedanism, for every Mohammedan claims to have a keen social sense, and to believe in a by no means dimly-known Divine Being. But has not the National Mission made it forever clear that Christianity is not so much that which it shares with other religions or systems of thought as that which it does not share, that which is special and peculiar to itself, its own essence: Immanuel, God *in Christ?* Christ sent, crucified, risen, glorified; God revealed by, through, and in this Christ both then in the

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days of His flesh and now in the days of the Church, by His Spirit. Have we or has the world any use for a Christianity that is emasculated of any particle of this content? Does not history echo the voice of the New Testament, loudly ratifying that only in these things does the dynamic, the driving power of Christianity, reside; that Christianity without these things is a cipher; or, at most, as salt granules with the saltness, and so the salthood, gone out of them?

We have come, in the National Mission, to lay ourselves wholly at the feet of God. "The Church which is in our house" (England) desires to carry out the Will of our Father in regard to our own land and in regard to His whole world. And He has told us that, howsoever many be His promises or His self-revealings, they are all summed up in His Christ. It is, therefore, equally important that our own land should know this, for then its diseases will be healed; and that the whole world should know it, for then it will be one. Our Father which art in Heaven! When His self-revelation is honoured and hallowed, then will His Kingdom have come and His Will be done.

How about Mohammedanism? (The question insists on recurring.)

It denies Christianity *in toto:* in this sense, that it denies the essence of the thing; the saltness of the salt.

It is monotheism without the Christ of God; and therefore without the God of Christ. For, though a certain character called Jesus Christ is mentioned, that character is totally devoid of interest; it is lost in the crowd, overtopped by more dominant personalities, more important messengers; it was not the eternal Beloved; did not institute that feast of the broken bread and the poured out wine; did not for love's sake lay down life; did not shed blood; did not die nor rise again; did not ascend to the right hand of Power, to perpetual intercession and dynamic life for men. Thus the Koran, and thus every Mohammedan book and every Mohammedan believer from the days of the Arabian till to-day.

Speaking dispassionately, then, speaking without cant, honestly and with decency of clear thinking in the light

of plain facts, can these two things—that great Assertion and this great Denial—be reconciled? Is the name of our Father which is in Heaven equally hallowed, and His Will equally done, in the solemn assertion and the solemn repudiation of these things?

It cannot be so, and it is not so.

England's new obedience to the Lord and to His Christ, then, demands of the Church which is in her house to order that house through the health-giving power of truth, and also to publish the truth about God's Christ where it is unknown in all our Father's world.

But not where it is categorically denied? That would be a paradoxical conclusion. *Especially* where it is denied: that is the conclusion.

Apologists both in Christendom and Islam would have us believe that both systems have come to stay (presumably, therefore, that both are equally true) and that we should settle down to the thought that the two sister religions should and will pursue their respective tracks in the civilising of humanity.

We are not called on, it is true, to say what may be the purpose of God for Islam in His world to-day, now that it is in being in the midst of the nations. Divine Providence had a task for the Roman Empire even when it was working against the Church of God, and when that Church was silently working to subdue that Empire to Christ. In the same way the Church leaves to Divine Providence to assign to Islam its historic task, while looking forward with clear vision and marching forward with unhesitating feet to the bringing of Islam into the obedience of Christ; when it will not abandon but re-read its own name "Surrender,"* and find that it means "Surrender to Allah *and to His own Messiah.*"

The National Mission inexorably involves all this. Islam on its side is perfectly clear-sighted about these questions. It is working ceaselessly, and we know that every convert won is not only hopelessly lost to the Church of Christ but sets himself immediately into an attitude of considered antagonism, except at coalition public meetings

*Al islam = "surrender."

in London, the object of which, however, is *wholly* to advance the interests of Islam. Thus sacred duty and logical inevitableness coincide, as they are always sure to do.

The National Mission was raised up by God, we believe, not only because this war inevitably brings in a new era for England, but also for the world. And not least for Islam. After the war, centres of gravity will be found shifted, old landmarks removed, old loyalties transferred, new doors open, new paths traced out. When Turkey loses her grip over her subject-peoples, and, through the loss of the Caliphate, loses also the confidence of Sunni Moslems everywhere, profound changes must occur, both political and, what is even more important, mental. To meet these changed attitudes, whatever they be, we must be ready with the message of our God.

If Turkey becomes once more simply the land of the Turks, the tyrannising attitude which has been its idea of Imperialism may well disappear, and men's souls be left free to hear and to choose. A new era for missions in Turkey proper would then open.

How much more, then, in Arabistan—Turkey's Arabic-speaking provinces, Syria, Palestine, Mesopotamia, Arabia? Beyond question in all these countries, and especially the two first-named, results of the patient sowing of the past will appear, and flourish in the fresh air of a truer liberty. In Arabia powerful new thought-currents are being set up in the very regions formerly least accessible to change, and, though we do not know how these may ultimately set, we must be ready for the opportunity whatever it is.

Egypt. If Egypt loses the last remnant of hope in any imaginary diversion from without—as, for example, her present revived hope for Turkey and her new delusion of an Islamophil or Islamofied Germany—she will obtain an internal equilibrium and steadiness to which she has long been a stranger. And in this way some of the most considerable hindrances to the gospel will be removed, for in Egypt Mohammedan antipathies are always intimately bound up with revived political hopes however illusory. For this inner tranquillity the Church must be ready.

Other changes equally well-marked are inevitably going on along the North African coast, as far as Morocco, formerly so impervious to any wooer from Europe. Our prayers should be that France, for whom this war is spontaneously creating a National Mission, will, through Christian Frenchmen and Frenchwomen, realise her *Christian* mission throughout her whole dominions.

And the same may be said in regard to Russia and her vast Islamic possessions. No one can give Christ to Islam in the Russias except Russia. It would be sheer pride and stupidity, not humble faith, for English-speaking Christians to feel that whatever is not done by them will probably not be done. The energy saved from such a paralysing thought should be put into prayer for Christ's Church in Russia, Christ's Church in France, and in other lands gifted with opportunity, that *their* National Missions of repentance and hope will issue in the bringing of the peoples in their obedience into the obedience of the Lord's Christ.

With regard to Negro Africa, it is perhaps more to the point to re-realise old facts than to look around for new ones. The old facts are these:

1. The Islamising of Africans can never be other than a misfortune and a danger; and for this reason, that it accents and gives permanent body to the natural anti-white (and so anti-Christian) tendencies of the black races. For much of this feeling the white man has no doubt to thank himself. But much of it was and is the result of profound and inevitable physical and cultural causes. Such a handicap is a severe enough one in all conscience. But when Islam gets the lever into its possession the handicap is made permanent, and the possibilities become at once more serious.

2. Nevertheless, this Islamising process always tends to go on; whether through Indian influence south of the Zambesi, or through Arab influence in the central parts, or through Egyptian influence in the Eastern Sudan, or through Senussi and trading influence in the Western, the process is going on.

3. The only thing that can arrest this process, and does arrest it, is the creation of Christian African nations. Who can calculate what the fact of Uganda has meant in the automatic arrest of Islam in northern Bantu Africa? And the same applies to a lesser extent to regions where a powerful Christian mission is in being, as for example on the Niger, in Nyasaland, and in Bechuanaland. Even politicians—even politicians in South Africa—are beginning, from their own angle of vision, to perceive that the only racial programme for Black Africa is its Christianisation.

Prevention is better than cure. The National Mission must make itself felt through the length and breadth of Negro Africa. Our Repentance will be Africa's Hope.

The difficulties of the task of bringing Islam into the obedience of God's Christ are as great as ever they were. The new opportunities will not lessen the spiritual and intrinsic difficulties: they will simply make possible new approaches. To the great Assertion the great Denial will still bring the great Refusal: for here we are dealing with spiritual not political facts. Nothing, again, is to be hoped from internal reform—the spread of a sort of Protestant Reformation—in Islam; for, as a matter of fact, it is by precisely these educated persons and reformers that anti-Christian religious movements are fostered and Islamic propagation movements initiated. The more tradition is given up, the greater will be the prominence given to the Koran. And this "shortening of the lines" and surrender of very easily assaulted positions may, in truth, only prove a strength to Islam. Therefore not in anything human whatsoever must hope be put for the task of achieving the apparently impossible; neither might nor power—political; nor gold nor silver—material; nor new possibilities of successful argumentation—philosophical; but

"O Israel, hope in the Lord from this time forth and for evermore."
In the Lord, the Lord's Christ, the Spirit of Jesus (these Three are One).

This is what the National Mission means for our country in relation to Mohammedanism.

W. H. T. GAIRDNER.

Cairo.

THE CALIPHATE*

THE Caliphate is the symbol of the traditionally and theoretically essential and necessary political unity of the Moslem world. The religious observances of Moslems—their daily worship, fasting in Ramadan, pilgrimage, etc.—may symbolize their religious unity; but the business of the Caliph is the administration of the affairs of their world in the widest sense, and the conception of his office looks back to a time in the remote past when these duties were really carried out and forward to a time in the millennial future when the carrying out of these duties will again be possible. At the present time, therefore, to call any one a Caliph means to assert his right to administer politically the affairs of the Moslem world. A Caliph, consequently, is to be sharply distinguished from a Pope, with whose office his is too often confused, in that he, first, is only an executive and has no right to develop or define what is of faith for Moslems—that is done by the Moslem people through their "agreement"—and, secondly, his executive functions cover all sides of life, political, legal, religious.† The interest, therefore, of the present situation lies in this question: Will the Caliph of the future continue to maintain this claim to the headship of a politically unified Islam, and will Islam continue to feel itself a political unity over against the non-Moslem world, or will the principle of nationality prevail among the Moslem peoples as it has elsewhere and their Caliphate become merely a

*Reprinted by permission from the New York *Nation* for July 13, 1916. There are a few corrections and additions.

†The theory of the Caliphate has been repeatedly treated by Moslem theologians and canonists. Two such treatments exist in translation. One of these is Léon Ostrorog's "Traité de droit public musulman" (Paris, 1901), a translation of the "Ahkam as-sultaniya" of Mawardi, Vol. I, pp. 89–195, and the other is De Slane's translation of "Les Prolégomènes d'Ibn Khaldoun" (Paris, 1863), Vol. I, pp. 384–444. These supplement one another very happily.

symbol of religious unity? Caliph is the title used here as the one most commonly known with us; but Moslems use in its place, as often as not, *Amīr al-mu'minīn*, "Commander of the Faithful," and even *Imām*, "Leader," taking that word in its highest sense. These three are practically interchangeable.

The status, duties, and rights of a Caliph are made most intelligible by the early historical development. The theory of the Caliphate, too, is based upon the precedents then established and upon a few sayings which, though put into the mouth of Mohammed, were really forged to support one political party or another. Mohammed at Medina had administered directly all the affairs of his people; he had been, like Moses and the Hebrew Judges, their individual and absolute ruler and judge. As Prophet, he had also been a first-hand source of faith and law; dogmas and legal rulings he could produce at need. This position of his was strictly in accordance with Arab, and indeed Semitic, ideas. To the authority, in a sense shading into *auctoritas*, of an Arab chief over his tribe he had added the infallibility of a prophet and the unifying and arousing force of a new idea—Islam. When he died, then, his position had to be filled, so far as that was possible. Of his four immediate "successors" (*Khalīfa*, Caliph, means "successor")—the only ones recognized by all Islam—the first, the third, and the fourth were chosen by elective councils and in rapidly increasing political turmoil, and the second was nominated by the first.

It was thus fixed for the Moslem world, at least for that large portion of it which is called Sunnite, that its head should be freely elected by the people or nominated by his predecessor, and then accepted by the people. In theory, therefore, the power is of the people functioning as a free democracy, but the people chooses to be governed by a single individual who is then given absolute power and is to be obeyed implicitly as long as he breaks no essential law of Islam; if he does, he may be recalled by the people which appointed him. He appears, externally, to be an autocrat, but is not, and the people always retains the sacred right of insurrection. It is a disputed point whether

tyranny and personal immorality are valid grounds for recall. One school of constitutional law so holds, but another teaches that so long as the Caliph is a Moslem and an effective ruler he must be obeyed. Into the further details as to whether tyranny or immorality deprives him of his office *ipso facto*, or whether he must be formally deposed, and again whether the people *must* depose him for these reasons, or only *may*, it is not necessary to enter.

Again, by the necessities of the case, the functions of this single ruler came in time to be discharged by a multitude of officials. The Caliphate was put into commission; but each official acted by delegated authority, and it is laid down as one of the responsibilities of the Caliph that he should personally satisfy himself that his deputies are doing their duty. Practically, the Caliph vanished behind a screen of administrative machinery and only at crises of the state did the people have any contact with him.

But though the successor of the Prophet, it is plain that the Caliph can only partially take the place of the Prophet. He cannot promulgate or define doctrines or laws; he can only defend and apply those already given forth and defined; in a word, he can only administer what is accepted as being of Islam. But that does not mean that the system of Islam is unchangeably fixed; it is quite the contrary. There are far greater possibilities of addition, development, and change inherent in the Moslem people than, for example, in the Pope, even when speaking *ex cathedra*. If that people agrees that any doctrine or law is of Islam, it is of Islam. This is the principle of the Agreement, and is crystallized in a saying put into the mouth of the Prophet: "My People will never agree in an error." Further, this Agreement is not reached by any specific decisions of councils. The Moslem people, rather, develops it, as it were, unconsciously through a process of gradual crystallizing of opinion. Individuals who by study and attainments have a right to have an opinion of their own on the point in question come to have the same opinion, and the thing is accomplished. This, of course, takes place everywhere in the formation of common opinion; but in

Islam it has been observed, analyzed, and established as a definitive source—and the final one—of theology and law.

So much it is necessary to state to clear away the prevalent view that the Caliph is a Pope. He is an executive and his business is to administer all the affairs of Islam, religious and secular, and to watch over the purity of its doctrine and usage. But it may well be asked how this theory can be brought into agreement with the historical facts, and, especially, with the existence of hereditary dynasties of Caliphs, such as the 'Abbāsids. The basis for these lies in the admitted right of the Caliph to nominate his successor; so Abū Bakr nominated 'Umar, and the nomination was accepted. On the detailed theoretical limitations with which the canonists have surrounded this right of nomination they themselves are in dispute, and a consideration of them would lead us too far; in practice they have been ignored. Apart from the hereditary dynasties, the most conspicuous case of nomination is that which passed on the Caliphate to the Ottoman House. In 1538 the last representative of the 'Abbāsids died in Egypt as a purely titular Caliph, and he nominated as his successor Suleimān the Great, the Sultan of the Ottoman Turks. Since then that sultan has received, at his accession, a double investiture. He is girded with the sword of 'Othmān as the Sultan of the Ottomans, and he is chosen by the Sheikh al-Islām, the official head of all the canonist-theologians of Turkey since that office was created in 1453, as the Caliph of the Prophet, the head of the Moslem world, and symbolic representative of its theoretical unity. This action of the Sheikh al-Islām is regarded as being that of the Moslem people; he, as it were, casts a ballot for them, a far more regular and legal proceeding than the violent scenes which so often took place in the stormy times of the later 'Abbāsids, when the mob of the capital, or even the palace guard, assumed the same function.

But it becomes plain how theoretical is that unity when we consider that it existed only for 138 years, and that since A.D. 755 the Moslem world has never acknowledged

allegiance to a single ruler. Somewhat later, in the tenth century, as Stanley Lane-Poole has picturesquely put it, "the Mediterranean washed the territories of three rival Caliphs." Indeed, if we take account of more fugitive and less important secessions, we might push the period of unity back to within thirty years of the death of the Prophet. So many Moslems have felt, and their position has been put in the form of a statement from Mohammed, "My Successorship will last thirty years; thereafter will come kings and princes."

This was one—a violent—method of evading the difficulty. Another was to develop the doctrine that when there were lands of Islam so far removed from the country of the Caliph that his influence and authority could not reach to them, it was allowable for the people of those lands to choose a Caliph of their own. This was upheld by canonists of the first rank in both east and west, and especially, apparently, in the west. Spain was too far from Bagdad for the 'Abbāsid Caliph to be there more than a name. So, in 929, 'Abd ar-Rahmān III, the Umayyad of Cordova, took the title of Caliph with the approval of the canonists of his court who urged this theory.

It would be vain in the space possible here to work through the history of the Caliphate; but the resultant present situation can be put quite shortly. Moslems today look to, roughly, six different supreme rulers. By far the largest number render an allegiance, often dubious, to the Ottoman Sultan. On a basis of strict canon law his claim to that allegiance is shaky; for almost all Islam accepts as valid a statement put into the mouth of Mohammed that the Caliph must be of the tribe of Quraish, that of the Prophet himself. 'Abd al-Hamīd, the late deposed Sultan, felt the force of this so strongly that the tradition in question had to be omitted in collections of traditions printed at Constantinople. The true basis of the Ottoman claim is really pragmatic. That Sultan is undoubtedly the greatest independent ruler in the Moslem world, and to him, therefore, the headship belongs by right. This basis would, of course, vanish with the vanishing or considerable curtailment of Turkey.

Afghanistan is probably the next greatest independent Moslem country. But its origin is comparatively modern dating from about the middle of the eighteenth century, and its Amīr, although in treaties he is now a "majesty," is debarred by treaty from external political relationships, and has never been associated with aspiration to the Caliphate.

The second of the six is the Invisible Imām of the Twelver sect of Shī'ites. All Shī'ites believe that 'Alī the cousin and son-in-law of the Prophet and the fourth Caliph of the Sunnites, was his divinely appointed immediate successor and was wrongfully kept from his rights by his three predecessors; further, that his children had an equally divine right to succession after him. This is one of the legitimist parties in Islam, as opposed to the Sunnite or democratic party, and Shī'ism has sometimes run perilously close to deifying the line of 'Alī. All Persia believes that the twelfth in descent from 'Alī was removed by Allah from the sight of men and is now being preserved alive in retirement until his time to reappear shall come. This withdrawal happened about A.D. 874, and still, for Persians, after more than a thousand years, he is al-Muntazar, "the awaited one," and the real head of their government, and for them the Shāh is only a *locum tenens* to keep public order and no successor of the Prophet. This Invisible Imām is believed also to control the destinies of his people by mysterious channels. Thus his headship is statedly maintained in the recent Persian Constitution, and the success of the revolution, now become so problematical, is ascribed to his influence. Another division of Shī'ites took up the fortunes of another vanished Imām, Ismā'īl, the seventh from Alī. These founded the Fātimid dynasty in north Africa, which has long gone its way, but has left behind it two still existing, if minor and partly secret sects. One of these is the Druzes, now in revolt and holding their Mountain against the Turkish-German control of Syria. They worship, as a divine incarnation, al-Hākim, the tenth Fātimid, who vanished in the Muqattam hills on the night of February 13, 1021 A.D., and left a mystery unread to this day. The other sect is the

Ismā'īlites, the Assassins of the Crusaders, who knew their head as the Old Man of the Mountain. Their present head is the Āgā Khān, a peaceful Indian gentleman to whom has been granted a sovereign salute of guns by the English Government and who is well known in London drawing-rooms. There it would be hard to realize that his revenues are derived from the hereditary devotion of the Assassins, whose secret remnants in Syria still worship him as divine. He is said to have dreams of the Caliphate; so John of Leyden might have dreamed of being elected Pope.

Another legitimist party in Islam limits the right to the Caliphate to the descendants of the Prophet, who are called Sharīfs, Nobles. This party differs from the one above in that it is mostly Sunnite in theology and law, and while some sections of it ascribe hereditary saintship to the prophetic line with a power of working miracles, there is no taint among them of incarnation doctrines. Their attitude is a development of the general Moslem respect for the family of Mohammed, which enjoys, indeed the only exception of prestige of birth in the democracy of Islam. In the Yemen there are the Zaidites, tending towards the Shī'ites in law and theology and obeying an Imām of their own who traces his descent from a certain Zaid, a great-great-grandson of the Prophet. In Morocco, too, the present reigning house, which, under the French protectorate, reigns but does not rule, is of the blood of the Prophet, and has for almost four centuries claimed the title of Commander of the Faithful. To them the summons of the Ottoman Sultan to come to the assistance of their Caliph can have had no meaning. At Mecca there are at least two Sharīf families which have for centuries enjoyed the highest respect from all the Moslem world. They have never ventured openly to claim the Caliphate, because they have always been under control from without and were until their recent revolt under that of the Ottoman Turks. But with the Turkish garrison now removed, there is little question that they will sooner or later, elect a Caliph of their own; they may, therefore, well be entered here.

The last group of claimants of independent sovereignty may be described as puritan and nonconformist. Their descent is to be traced from primitive Moslems who seceded from the general body of Islam because of its decadence from the democratic simplicity and theological rigidity of the first generations. In consequence they are completely outside of that general body; they regard other Moslems as renegades and worse than unbelievers, and the other Moslems regard them as stranger and less of kin to themselves than even Christians or Jews. These have never recognized any fundamental need of a Caliph. A head, for them, is allowable and useful, but is not the centre of the organization of the whole state as in the rest of Islam. Their ideal, rather, goes back to the primitive tribe of the desert, with its rulers who possess only influence over a democracy of individuals. Naturally, they are not found except in out-of-the-way corners of the Moslem world. The Ibādites have had their Imāms at 'Omān, at the entrance of the Persian Gulf, since 751 A.D., and a branch from there has been long settled at Zanzibar and ruled by Sultans. They have smaller settlements, too, in southern Algeria. Somewhat akin to these primitive seceders, but of a later origin by reform, accepted within the unity of Islam, are the Wahhābites of central Arabia. Here, too, may perhaps be entered the Senūssite fraternity of dervishes, for its policy has been to hold itself independent of control on the part of the governments of the countries in which it exists. For this reason it has steadily withdrawn its central organization deeper and deeper into the deserts of the Sahara, until it is now seated on the northern shore of Lake Chad. It is thus an *imperium in imperio* in the Moslem world. It avoids, too, all entangling contacts with unbelievers, and the story runs that its head formally "excommunicated" 'Abd al-Hamīd for his too much such trafficking. This probably means that he threw off allegiance to him as Caliph. By this time he has probably heartily repented his recent union with the Turks and has fallen back again into his solitude and independence.

These, then, are the elements, great and small, in the problem of the future of the Caliphate. The ill success

which has attended the summons addressed to the Moslem world by the Ottoman Sultan-Caliph has shown that the principle of unity in Islam is fast yielding to that of nationality. And that means that Islam is becoming more of a simple religion and less of a political system. But the indications are that this religious unity, also, for the great mass of Sunnites at least, will tend to express itself symbolically through an individual figure. The legitimists, Shī'ite and Sunnite, and the primitive Moslems, being already provided with heads or rejecting such headship as unessential, will, of course, have nothing to do with any such attempt. Further, this will be a matter for Moslems to work out for themselves by agreement and disagreement. They will certainly, however, desire that such a head shall be independent of external entanglements, especially with non-Moslems. It is, therefore, not surprising that one of the drifts of Moslem thought is towards setting apart Mecca and Medina, with their surrounding territory, as a kind of Estates of the Church, neutral and inviolable, and towards choosing as Caliph the head of the Sharīf families there. Certainly, if a purely spiritual Caliph is to reside at any one point, it should be at Mecca, the religious centre of Islam. And it would be only natural that he should be chosen from among the descendants of the founder of that faith. To gain such a position the new King of the Hijāz must demonstrate that he is strong enough to maintain standing as an independent monarch—any suspicion of being "protected" would be fatal—and that he can keep such order as to make the pilgrimage to Mecca and the visit to Medina safe for all Moslems. Then the Moslem world on pragmatic grounds might accept his legally perfect claim to the Caliphate.

D. B. MACDONALD.

Hartford, Connecticut.

TWO FUNERALS: A CONTRAST

"*I am the resurrection, and the life. He that believeth in me, though he were dead, yet shall he live.*"

PRECIOUS words of eternal hope and comfort and priceless heritage of the Christian faith! They fell upon our ears as balm that winter morning as we stood around the grave of a little baby, being laid to rest in the pretty green cemetery of Luxor. The tiny one had been ill only a few days when its little life was choked out by a fatal attack of croup. Its parents were Swiss Protestants among the few Europeans who have sought out a home in this far-away land, and only those of us who have been called upon to part from loved ones here or in the far-off homeland, know just how distant home seems at such a time. A few friends had gathered to show their sympathy and the few beautiful floral offerings, emblems of the frailty of human life, bore silent testimony to their love and friendship. The brave father and mother had kissed the little one before it was put into the coffin and during the reading of the Scriptures and prayer they had evidently been much comforted although the language used was not their own native tongue. It was a privilege at such a time to put into their hands a French gospel with the fourteenth chapter of St. John and other passages marked.

Death at best is an abnormal experience, one to which we shall never grow accustomed, and no wonder. It is all a deep, dark problem; so deep and so dark that only the Lord Himself knoweth the cost since He paid the final penalty on Calvary, and took away forever the sting of death.

So we stood that morning united by the bands of eternal fellowship and common faith in a risen Saviour and our hearts were unspeakably comforted.

"Alas for him who never sees
The stars shine through his cypress trees!
Who hopeless lays his dead away,
Nor looks to see the breaking day
Across the mournful marbles play."

Indeed "if in this life only we have hope in Christ, we are of all men most miserable," but for us that morning death had lost its sting and the grave its victory.

A few weeks later we were following another to his last resting place. This time it was old Mustafa, our faithful servant and sailor, one who, although a Moslem, had helped us to carry the Gospel of Christ. He had been ailing for a few days but had refused to see a doctor. As the end drew near he *sat* suffering on the deck of our little houseboat, true to the custom of the common people who think it will shorten their lives if they give up and lie down. When we saw how ill he was we tried to send him to a hospital, but it was too late—the exertion was too much, the thread of life snapped and he was gone.

This time we wended our way through the hot dusty fields to the little Moslem cemetery that lies in a desert place at the edge of a village in Upper Egypt. The desert also has its rugged charms but they are not the "mild and healing" sympathies of nature that one looks for in a burying place. One longs for green plants bursting into life and bloom, fit type of the resurrection. This craving is not satisfied by the desolate desert. At this funeral the only note of comfort that greeted our ears was the monotonous chanting of the Moslem mourners. "La ilalha illa'llah, wa Mohammed Rasul Allah"; There is no god but God and Mohammed is his apostle. We stopped first at the little mosque of the cemetery where prayers were said over the body and where the dead received instructions as to how to answer Munkar and Nakir, the two terrible angels who visit the tomb and torment the soul of all who have not been sufficiently devout and pious. During the instructions given by the Moslem sheikh none were allowed to be present lest they frighten away the angels.

From the mosque we proceeded on our way to the tomb, following the bier, a rough open frame in which

the corpse was placed after being wrapped in a winding sheet. The Moslems use no coffins because the dead could not sit up in them and answer the angels. In a very few minutes we arrived at the tomb which belonged to one of the villagers. He had very graciously offered a place in his family acre as the old sailor had died far from home and friends. The tomb itself was a square room of mud brick high as a man's head, made thus large so that in the resurrection the occupants would have room to stand erect. In front was a tiny door just large enough to get the corpse through. The door was walled around in turn by a semicircular wall about three feet high. Very tenderly they lifted the corpse from the bier and handed it over the wall through the little door, to one of the pall bearers who had entered the tomb. The corpse was laid upon the ground, facing Mecca and a little earth was put each side of the legs to give support when the spirit enters the body at the day of the resurrection, so that the body will not topple over when it begins to rise. The small door was then built up quickly with mud bricks and the sheikh who acted as master of ceremonies, with the help of a few followers, chanted passages from the Y. S. Chapter of the Koran. At the close were the words: "Allah er Rahman, er Rahim." "God the Merciful, the Compassionate."* At this point they said the spirit which passes out of the body at death re-enters the body for forty days.

As Mustafa had died far from home there were only two relatives present, two of the sailors. These with two other sailors wept from genuine grief. The sheikh's only words of comfort to them were "What is the use of weeping now? It is the command of God." The *command* of *God*, of *God!* How often we hear these words! And they never seemed so fitting; what could one say to those who have no hope in Christ Jesus. The *command of God.* All the fatalism of the Moslem creed is bound up in these few words.

The next day the sheikh came to our boat to chant Koran passages to the sailors as a sort of requiem. He

* Compare this Koran chapter with I Cor. 15!

placed the dead man's clothes beside him in a little pile and commanded the spirit to come out if it might be hovering there. This they confessed to be merely a form as they knew the spirit to be in the body of the dead man. Strange mixture of belief and animistic superstition! In reply to our questions the sheikh told us that as soon as the body dies the spirit goes immediately into the presence of God and is examined, then it returns when the body is prayed over in the Mosque and hovers between the body and the burial clothes until the end of the burial rites when the sheikh ends his ritual with "God the Merciful, and Compassionate." At this junction the spirit again passes into the body where it stays forty days, and where, meanwhile, it is questioned by the two angels. If the man has been a good Moslem and his answers are satisfactory he escapes torment. Otherwise these two terrifying angels with their clubs torment him and beat him between the eyes.

After forty days the soul of the pious man according to tradition and common belief enters the crop of a green bird and goes into the boughs of Paradise to await the resurrection. According to another story the souls of everybody, Moslem, Christian, and Jew, go to Jerusalem to await the resurrection. At the resurrection all will be surrounded by a wall of fire for several days till their sins are all punished. All who go to heaven must escape through this wall of fire. Only the Faithful will escape. After the resurrection and judgment there is still another barrier before Paradise is reached. This is the *Sirat al Mustaqim*, a bridge finer than a hair and sharper than a sword, suspended over hell, over which all must pass. The righteous, or true followers of the Prophet, cross this bridge with the swiftness of the wind or of lightning and then enter Paradise. Wicked men and infidels fail and soon fall into hell.

With all this entanglement of belief based on orthodox tradition one wonders how the Moslem has the courage to face life, much more death.

DAISY GRIGGS PHILIPS, B.A.

Luxor, Egypt.

THE BIBLE IN MOROCCO

OFFICIALLY missionaries in Morocco are only tolerated—practically they encounter very little opposition in their work, and wherever they go they are welcomed by the people.

It is time the larger Missionary Societies directed their attention to this needy field. I am convinced the time has come, in fact, it is *now* or *never* for a forward movement along well organized lines into this stronghold of Islam. There are a dozen stations where medical missions, industrial work and schools, also itinerating and colportage could be commenced *at once* without the least fear of over-lapping, as the list of towns here given with their approximate populations, and showing the number of missionaries, at present at work demonstrate.*

The ground has been prepared by the faithful and laborious work of missionaries connected with the North Africa Mission, the Central Morocco Mission, the South Morocco Mission, the Kansas City Gospel Missionary Union, and a few independent workers, as well as by the colporteurs of the British and Foreign Bible Society who have been circulating the Scripture among the people of "Sunset Land" for over thirty years. I am often asked the question: "Do the people want the Bible?"

The following incidents, some of which took place last year, will I think answer the query.

Fez: We stood on the spot where in 1903 Mr. Cooper of the North Africa Mission lost his life, and offered to the people as they passed, the Word of God. The first day I sold over 400 Arabic portions, the second day over 200 Gospels and so on. We were just behind the Great Mosque Manli Idress, and better class Moors on their way to prayers at midday bought portions of the Old and

* See next page.

New Testaments, put them inside their libdas and entered the revered Mosque to pray! I tried to imagine these worshippers bowing, and praying in the name of the False Prophet—yet having the book under them which could lead them to Him who is the *Way*, the *Truth*, and the *Life*.

Mequinez: In the open market places, where the Berbers from the Mountains and the Arabs from the plains

*A Call for Workers

Names of towns and cities	Population—latest official returns	Missionaries at work amongst Moslems at the time of writing	
		Men	Women
Tangier	80,000	3	9
Tetuan	30,000	none	2
Centa	15,000	none	none
Melilla	18,000	none	none
El Kazar el Kibeer	15,000	none	none
Wazzan	12,000	none	none
Kenitra	5,000	none	none
Mequinez	30,000	1	2
Fez	102,000	none	2
Sifru	6,500	1	1
†Taza *and district*	8,000 to 10,000	none	none
Oudjda (Mjda)	16,000	none	none
Rabat	35,000	1	1
Salee	18,000	none	‡none
Larache	12,000	none	none
Arzila	2,500	none	none
Casabianca	85,000	none	3
Setatt	2,500	none	none
Mazagan	18,000	1	1
Azimur	11,000	none	‡none
Saffi	19,500	1	1
Mogador	25,000	1	2
Marrakesh (Morocco City)	75,000	2	3
Dimnat	4,000	none	none
Tarudant	8,000	none	none
		11 men	27 women

*The above list does not include colporteurs of the Bible Society of whom there are three (3)

†Visited by workers from Kaboot

‡Visited from Mazagan

were selling their fruit and vegetables, grain and earthen ware, where the story teller was holding a crowd entranced by a recital of some stories from the "Arabian Nights," we began to sing an Arabic hymn. This drew the attention of the people, and it was a thrilling sight to see the men gather round us, leaving the story teller, the grain market, and the fruit stall to listen to the Nazarenes telling the "Wondrous Story." At the close of each meeting we would offer the Scripture for sale, and it was remarkable the numbers who bought, having been interested in the message of the preacher. During the few days in Mequinez between 700 and 800 books were disposed of to Jew and Moor.

Tala: This town and district is absolutely untrodden ground for the Bible seller or missionary. In less than an hour I sold out the stock I had brought with me and then the demand was greater than ever. "Come back again soon and bring a greater supply of books with you," they cried. It was an exciting scene. Algerians, Sousis, Moorish soldiers and others all crowding round, and late comers when they learned the nature of the books, tried to press through, holding up their pennies over the heads of those in front calling out "Give me one." My bag carrier, a Moor, was absolutely astonished and kept saying "Ahjoobah! ahjoobah!"

A few years ago, a Moorish gentleman in Tetuan said to me, "May God bless you in your efforts to persuade my countrymen to buy your books, *they are just what they need.*"

In Arzila: In the busy market place a woman heard me read from one of our Mogrebi Gospels, and pleased with its message of love and forgiveness, bought two portions for her sons who were out in the fields working. A Moor standing by tried to persuade her to give the books back: but she clung to them all the more saying: "Nay, nay, know thou that I have bought the best thing in the market to-day."

A Moorish lawyer after buying a Gospel said: "This is what has made the 'Englees' great. I have no faith in Islam, it clogs the wheels of progress." Another said:

"Our *religion* is to blame, it prevents the advance of real education and enlightment."

In Mazagan I entered a café. One young fellow was enraged because my entrance interrupted his game of cards. He denounced the Christian faith in most scathing words, and sought to prevent his fellow-players from looking at my books.

I patiently waited till he had finished, when I said, "If you do not wish to know the will of God from His written Word for yourself, you should at least let others enquire for themselves." "He speaks the truth," cried the others. They asked to see the books and were surprised to find amongst them the Book of Job. One read aloud, the others listened. Cards were laid aside, and even the young fellow who had denounced the books forgot his rudeness and grew attentive. A few copies were sold. After visiting two other cafés I was on my way home when I felt a hand on my arm, and looking round, was surprised to see the objector. He wanted copies of Genesis and Proverbs, with the Gospels and said apologetically, "I was only joking when I spoke so rudely to you in the café."

For debt, a Moorish gentleman found himself in prison; no uncommon thing in these difficult days. A lady friend who visits the native prisons regularly, gave him a copy of one of our Mogrebi Gospels. On regaining his liberty he sought out the lady to thank her for her kindness in giving him such a book and wished to have further enlightenment upon certain truths. She gave him a note of introduction to me, and one day, the week before last he came to the Bible Depot. After about two hours, reading and explaining he said, "This has been the very gate of heaven to me, from this time forward I build my hope of pardon for my sins on the Lord Jesus. I believe He died for me, and that His blood cleanses me from all sin."

He was awakened to his need of a Saviour in prison through reading the Word of God. The Bible *is* working in Morocco.

ROBERT STEVEN.

Tangier, Morocco.

AMULETS IN EGYPT

THE religion of the Moslem woman in Egypt is centered in superstition. Its creed is a maze of folk-lore almost impossible for an enlightened mind to understand. However, it seems really necessary that we should make some attempt to investigate this folk-lore in order to get some conception of the things the Moslem woman thinks about.

A Christian woman approaches her God in prayer and praise. A Moslem woman because she cannot be ceremonially clean has no right to pray and knows no reason for praise. She, in common with all humanity, craves an approach to the supernatural Being. Although she knows there is a God to whom men pray yet the supernatural she most often appeals to is evil spirits. These evil spirits are the heroes of all her folk-lore which she cons over with her friends. The amulet which she invariably wears and loads upon her children is her prayer for help—not to God but to the spirits of evil. Her notion of a prayer for help is to offer something which will appease the particular evil spirit which is causing her all her trouble, or to offer him something which will curry favor with him.

Because of this religious craze for amulets and charms a very flourishing trade is carried on in them in Egypt. Moslem fakirs and Sheikhs (holy men and priests) earn an honest penny by preparing these amulets for the poor deluded people, especially the women, who are blindly groping for help.

There is an endless variety of amulets and charms, and it is entirely impossible to classify them as far as I have discovered. I was rather accidently led into knowing the reason for their great variety by a little incident which happened while I was helping Mrs. Pollock with the

evangelistic work on the "Allegheny" (the mission evangelistic medical boat). I was seated at the door of the evangelistic tent with a group of women and in my efforts to better understand the trend of their minds so as to be the better able to present Christian truth to them, I was trying to find out something about the various amulets they and their children were wearing. An old man passing by heard the talk and said in a very condescending tone of voice, "O lady, if you want an amulet for yourself, make it from anything you wish or happen to think of and it will be quite acceptable." It struck me that his remark sounded very similar (yet what a different meaning!) to the teaching that I had been trying to give these poor ignorant women on prayer. I had been telling them to present their needs to God in their own words and He would hear them. The old man's inadvertent remark impressed upon me the pernicious influence of the amulet upon the mind of the Moslem woman, taking the place, as it most assuredly does, of our precious privilege of prayer because it is her only expression of need.

It is a curious coincidence that the word in Arabic for amulet (*hegab*) is the very same word that is used for the "veil" of the temple, the real meaning of which is "to hide," "to prevent," "to intervene." The amulet does all those things for the Moslem woman, throwing up a barrier between her and God. As the veil of the temple was rent in twain on Crucifixion Day so these heathenish tributes of the Moslem woman, to the devils she worships can be rent from her only as she learns of Christ and Him crucified. One day a young mother with a pretty baby in her arms, the wife of a Moslem convert, was spending the day with me and she had an innocent looking charm tied to the baby's forelock. I asked her about it and another woman present hastened to explain that it was an amulet to keep away evil. When I said, "Christians have nothing to do with such things," the young mother quickly took it off and threw it out of the window. The action was a very real testimony that she understood salvation through Christ for usually the women cling very tenaciously to their amulets.

The amulets we most frequently see are leather bags hung to a string around the neck or across the shoulder. They are supposed to contain all sorts of potent charms against any evil liable to befall the wearer, although the wearer is most often in entire ignorance of what is in the bag as it has been securely sewed up by the sheikh from whom she has bought it. Enterprizing missionaries have been known to open these bags (a great sacrilege) to satisfy curiosity and have sometimes been rewarded by finding nothing at all except a good proof that the Moslem holy men and priests have been deceiving their credulous followers, and a further proof that these religious leaders have no faith in the amulet except as a source of livelihood for themselves.

I have in my possession an amulet, a leather bag, for which the owners paid six pounds. They gave it to me very reluctantly; they could not refuse me because I asked for it, but they charged me not to open it. However, I did and found a beautifully hand-painted sheet, twenty by thirty inches in size. The names written in various curious ways were Allah, Mohammed, and the four Guardian Angels. They told me that the man who wrote the amulet was a noted character, and that it took him forty days to do it, spending this time being entertained in the house of a wealthy relative of the girl for whom the amulet was being prepared. This girl had been in a Christian school and had professed belief in Christ. This was one of the methods they used to shake her belief. It seems that the writer of the amulet was a ventriloquist and that every evening he would use this power to make the demons and devils say things to the mother and her possessed daughter seated in the middle of the darkened room, on the floor. Sometimes the devil would chide her for knowing English and for believing in Christ, speaking to her in the most terrifying tones from all corners of the darkened room. In the daytime when she and her mother were busy preparing a meal the voice of a demon would suddenly shout to them from beneath the boiling kettle. Although the girl did not understand all these performances, yet her simple faith was not shaken.

These leather bags are found to contain all sorts of things. A very common thing is a paper on which are written the names and attributes of God. Mixtures of a certain number of spices with salt, and grains of wheat is a great favorite. Parts of the body, such as a tooth, fallen hair, nails, or anything the evil spirit may choose to request is sewed up in these bags. The evil spirit of a jealous woman who has no baby of her own has caused her sister's baby to become ill. This evil spirit is appealed to and his demands have to be satisfied or the baby will surely die. Sometimes it is a tiny silver fish, or a tiny silver hand, or a coin tied to the baby's forelock, or to the mother's head kerchief or her braid. Strange to say a small wooden or metal cross or crucifix is a favorite amulet; also portions of Scripture or anything written by a Christian are in great demand to put into these leather bags. Sometimes a guileless missionary is thrilled because of the eagerness with which his portions of Scripture or tracts are grabbed for by the ignorant who have no idea other than that they are something pertaining to Christianity and so want them for amulets. The underlying principle is that Christianity is an evil and that the Christian devils will be appeased by these Christian words. Patients come to the hospital decorated with many curious amulets. A sickly child was brought to the doctor. A leather bag larger than usual was suspended from the little chap's shoulder. The doctor, curious as to its contents, opened it and found a large dead chameleon. It had been sewed up alive in the bag and the child had worn it for quite a while. A friend of mine was describing to me the other day an amulet which her sister had worn before the birth of her last child. A large eel was cut into two parts, the tail part was put into an ordinary milk jar, salt sprinkled over it and sealed up by the tinsmith so that the bad odour could not escape. This jar was kept under her bed till the time of delivery. The head of the eel was wrapped up with the *hebash-el-hegab* and sewed up in the usual leather bag and suspended under the arm of the expectant mother till delivery and after delivery the child wears it. In the first place when

the eel was killed it was held over two shirts to be spattered with the blood. One was worn by the mother, then afterwards used to stuff a pillow for the child's head. The other was the first garment to be put on the child. The knife which had been used to kill the eel was carefully saved and was the instrument used to sever the cord and then taken together with a piece of salt and a piece of bread, put in a bag and kept under the pillow of the child. This was to keep him from being afraid of the dark. The *hebash-el-hegab* mentioned above is a collection of spices and other things used to make up the amulet in connection with the special feature such as the eel. It seems that there must be seven of certain kinds of seeds, seven eyeless needles, seven strands of different colored silk threads, each strand the length of the woman for whom the amulet is intended. My friend tells me that instead of the eel any small animal can be used. She knew of amulets being made containing the head of a serpent, a rat, a newly born puppy, or fissikh (rotten fish). The head of a puppy makes a very potent amulet. Her sister's sister-in-law boasted of the "puppy amulet." The *Khamasa* (five-fingers) of blue beads of or silver, or gold, or tin is a favorite charm for a child. Hand prints of the *Khamasa* are often found on the walls of the house of a bride. These prints are made with the blood of the sheep which has been slaughtered on the threshold as the bride entered. Also the doors and furniture and even the slippers of a newly married pair are smeared with a mixture supposed to be a love potion.

Any abnormal formation is seized upon as an amulet. The idea is that anything abnormal is caused by an evil spirit and so will appease an evil spirit. Some time ago I visited in the harem of a wealthy vey, the Omdah of his village. His palatial country house was furnished with gorgeous things from Paris. His wee daughter had on a beautiful dress but she was loaded down with amulets. One of them was a large metal ring around her neck. It was made from piastres (nickel coins) which had been begged. This was to appease the evil spirit which might envy them their wealth.

There is no end to the variety of amulets and to the reasons for the wearing of them. The universal use of the amulet by the Moslem woman has tied her down to an elaborate system of devil-worship deadening her spiritual perception and rendering it a difficult task, indeed, to bring her into the light and life of Gospel truth. But with God all things are possible. We need a mighty and steady impact of prayer for a work of the Holy Spirit among our Moslem sisters to free them from the spiritual bondage in which they are held.

MINNEHAHA FINNEY.

Tanta, Egypt.

BEYOND KHARTUM

To be present in Khartum and Omdurman during the celebration of the Prophet's birthday gives one a sense of the living reality of Islam in the Sudan. A people capable of rising to the emotional tension and frenzy of Mahdism naturally would not be expected to exert its energies in the finesse of theological disputations nor in the perfection of orthodox ritual. The Sudanese type of religion remains distinctly emotional and perhaps this will hold true after Islam has given way to Christianity. In Cairo or Damascus it is certain groups or classes of the people who are affiliated with the dervish orders and attend zikrs. But in Omdurman at any time of the year a very large proportion of the men, and not a few women, continue far into the night ejaculating the praises of God and listening to the singing of poems in laud of Mohammed.

The governmental recognition of the Mulid with a series of state receptions in the special tents erected in Khartum, Khartum North and Omdurman draws together almost the whole population in each of these three cities. And hours after the Acting Sirdar and his staff have returned to their homes the immense circles of devotees continue their swaying and their chanting.

It is not uncommon in Cairo, after a funeral, for the friends and relatives to join in using a one-thousand bead rosary to bring benefit to the soul of the departed. But rosaries of this type are used in the Northern Sudan for the ordinary evening devotions. And the writer found more than one, made of *lalob* (pits), gathered from the *higlig* tree, with a side string of twenty smaller beads for recording the completion of each thousand prayers, and another side string of seventy to register the count if the man determines upon reciting 70,000 prayers or ejacula-

tions at a continuous session. It was admitted by the leader of one of the dervish fraternities that by very rapid and sustained recital from sundown to sunrise he had completed the full measure of the seventy thousand, but that he had lain in a swoon afterwards "like one possessed." Surely, whatever adverse criticism may be made against these zikrs they are a form of prayer and they minister to a very real hunger of the soul. Perhaps in the case of converts from Islam we do not provide adequately in the church for satisfying this emotional instinct so manifestly existent in the races of Western Asia and of Africa.

My heart was thrilled by the sight of "Gordon's Tree" a few miles south of Khartum, where this man of many battles "who gave at all times his strength to the weak and his heart to God" was wont to spread his prayer-rug and concentrate his thoughts upon the power and the faithfulness of God. The earliest memory of my boyhood is of a certain day when my father laid his hand upon my head, and looking down into my eyes with a most earnest expression, said, "General Gordon has been killed at Khartum." What an inspiration it will be to the boys and young men of Egypt and the Sudan if a Life of Gordon is well written and published in Arabic! The uncompromising and manly Christianity of his life certainly ought to be more widely known in a country where his name is given to the highest educational institution, and where the cathedral itself is dedicated to his memory.

Gordon College is strengthened with an endowment of over £100,000. Besides achieving high standards in scientific research this college has developed special departments for the training of schoolmasters and judges. Scarcely any pagan and few Christian scholars attend. The curriculum is well supplied with direct and indirect teaching of the Mohammedan faith. This fact continues to be a source of very sincere regret to every thoughtful Christian, and public opinion in England is certain ultimately to make itself felt, either by changing the name of the college or by eliminating the courses and text-books which make this a power-house of Mohammedanism.

But let us not fail to appreciate the splendid progress and the good government effected by the British administration. The personnel of the officials, both civil and military, is of the highest order, representing the type of Anglo-Saxon justice, integrity and thoroughness of which England may rightly be proud. Many instances of fair dealing with the native people could be cited, not as anything unusual but as the fixed habit of the officials.

The very best proof of the estimate put by the Sudanese themselves upon the British administration is the uniform spirit of loyalty shown in all the provinces since the outbreak of the war. No schemes of enemy agents have borne any fruit, and the country, owing to its peacefulness and security and the increased value of crops, has actually prospered during these trying thirty months.

The object of this article is to give a sketch of the silent struggle between Islam and paganism in the vast provinces south of Khartum,—provinces yet to be won to Jesus Christ through patient toil and crucial sacrifice.

I. Routes and Extent of Islamic Advance

Arabs, Egyptians and Turks have usually entered the Sudan by the Nile valley and have often struck off through Dongola into Kordofan and Darfur, making the long marches by camel caravan. Other Moslem conquests and trading expeditions have pressed southward by the river route, some going up the Blue Nile as far as the mountains of Abyssinia and others following the White Nile and its tributaries far into Central Africa. In fact the Islamization of what is now the French Sudan, Nigeria and the West Coast has made its initiative through this route. Moslems have also entered by crossing the Red Sea from Arabian ports to Suakin and some have even come in by way of Abyssinia.

The following statements by J. W. Crowfoot, Esq., Director of Education in the Sudan Government, are of value in deciphering the ethnology of these tribes. He states broadly that the inhabitants of the Sudan may be divided into four groups: The Negroes, the Nubas, the Begas and the Arabs. "Geographically," he says, "and

perhaps physically, the Nubians appear as a link between Egypt and Negro land. They are darker and smaller than the Egyptian, but still brown and not black, although they often have the woolly hair of the negro. They are an enterprising people, apt linguists and great travellers. . . . It is the more strange that they should have preserved their own dialects, especially as they have been Moslems for some centuries." "Now, at any rate, the Arab dominates the northern half of the Sudan, that is, from Egypt to Kordofan. He has nowhere exterminated the original inhabitants; he has in many cases not yet succeeded in forcing even his language upon them; he has, unlike the Arabs in Arabia, intermarried freely with them; but his conquest has been so far complete that his religious ideals and tribal organization have replaced the older faith and institutions. The materials published by Naum Bey Schoucair* enable him to trace two distinct steps in the Arabization of the Central Sudan. Up to 1500 A.D. the Christians reigned on the Blue Nile; there were no *Gubbas*, no mention of *Fikis*, earlier than this, as would certainly have been the case if many Arabs had been there. About this time the Fungs, a powerful black tribe under Amara Dunkas, became Moslems, and, assisted by some Arab immigrants overthrew the Kingdom of Soba. At this point the Arabization of Central Sudan seems to have stood almost still for three centuries. *Gubbas* were built and *Fikis* became powerful. Yet the emblems of the kingly power, a throne called the K–K–R and a two-horned cap are clearly African not Arab. This period was closed by the Egyptian conquest of Mohammed Ali which continued the process begun in the time of Sultan Selim and finally obliterated several of the most characteristic survivals from pre-Islamic days. Indeed all the events of the last century, including the great upheaval in which it culminated had the same tendency. Having lost their native kingdoms the people have been forced to adopt the Arab tribal system, and unlike the Berbers in Algiers, have identified themselves enthusiastically with all

* "History of the Sudan," Cairo, 1904—in Arabic.

things Arab. The more striking is it that they should have still kept such African customs as the *Akh-el-banat*, the scarring of the cheeks, the *Dilka* and the *Tadkhin*.* The Dilka is their method of cleaning themselves: instead of washing they prefer to grease themselves over and then scrape the skin with a stone."

Many points of historic interest hold one's attention, especially in Omdurman and its vicinity. The Mahdi's empty and shattered tomb, where groups of women are wont to pray and wail; the Khalifa's immense enclosure for public prayers; his private house, now stacked with dervish relics; the battlefield itself, on the high ground about ten miles to the northwest of the city,—all these remind one of the wave of fanatical power which not so many years ago swept the country from end to end.

The voyage up the White Nile gives one a glimpse of Abba Island where in his early days the Mahdi was simply a member of a dervish fraternity, making his living as a boat builder. At Kaka, further up the river, he began to gather a following and to preach with fiery zeal against the existing régime and against laxity in all things Mohammedan. What you see at Kaka at the present time is a group of poorly built mud huts with thatch roofs, occupied by a rather heterogeneous group of traders and their families. There is no sign of a mosque nor anything that would suggest the movement which sprang from this place.

El-Obeid, at present the terminus of a railway from Khartum by way of Wad Madani, Sennar and Kosti, has always been the center of Kordofan Province. A most valuable and succinct history of this province is given by H. A. MacMichael in his work, "The Tribes of Northern and Central Kordofan," published in 1912 at the Cambridge University Press. The manuscripts of Father Joseph Ohrwalder edited and published by the Sirdar, Sir F. R. Wingate under the title "Ten Years' Captivity in the Mahdi's Camp" afford a mass of valuable information to the student of Islamic history, and are much more reliable than the self-conscious and highly

* For the *Tadkhin*, see Baker, "Nile Tributaries of Abyssinia," p. 81.

colored narrative by Slatin Pasha. It was at El-Obeid that the Mahdi gathered such a horde for the advance to the siege of Khartum. The well water became almost exhausted, and he was compelled to move his vast encampment to El-Rahad. From this town he marched southeastward to El-Dueim and thence down the river to the attack on Gordon Pasha.

II. The Moslem Provinces

The Government Almanac for 1916 gives the population of the Sudan as 2,939,000 not including Darfur. At a conservative estimate this newly annexed province, which has an area of 150,300 square miles, has a population of 200,000, making the total for the Sudan 3,139,000. It will be of interest to those who wish to know how great a part of this population has resisted the claims of Mohammedanism, to have the following tabulation:

Provinces	*Pagan Population*	*Moslem Population*
Mongalla	207,000	
Bahr-el-Ghazal*	760,000	50,000
Upper Nile	303,000	
Nuba Mountains*	60,000	208,000
Sennar*	16,000	96,000
White Nile		155,000
Darfur (estimated)		200,000
Kordofan		336,000
Blue Nile		193,000
Khartum		135,000
Kassala		84,000
Dongola		141,000
Red Sea		35,000
Berber		122,000
Halfa		38,000
Totals	1,346,000	1,793,000

In judging of the above classification several facts must be kept in mind, but as to the proportion of pagans to Moslems these facts cannot have any considerable effect. First, there is a very small Christian population

* The proportion of Moslems to pagans is only an estimate, but the total population for each province, excepting Darfur, is taken from the Government Almanac for 1916. No complete census has yet been made but fairly accurate figures are gathered from the tax records.

in such cities as Atbara, Khartum North, Omdurman, Port Sudan, etc. Second, Moslem traders have penetrated to all parts of the provinces named as pagan, but their number would probably be offset by the Dinkas and other pagans living in the White Nile Province. Broadly speaking, then, it is safe to say that 42 per cent of the people of the Sudan are yet animists, while almost the whole of the remaining 58 per cent holds to the Moslem faith.

The fact has often been emphasized that pagan recruits to the Sudanese army, though not from any government compulsion, almost invariably become Moslems. The customs and regulations in the army in the Northern Sudan are such that a Shilluk or a Dinka who enlists and remains a pagan feels very lonely and despised. He soon makes application to be received by the prescribed ceremonies and to have his name on the roll altered to Hassan, 'Ali, or Mohammed. But let it be clearly stated that in the southern provinces where companies are being recruited from the non-Moslem tribes and a small local army is being gradually developed, the tendency above mentioned is reduced to a minimum. In fact, some of the British officers consider it a wise policy to have in training regiments of pagan troops who would not be in the least influenced by any Mohammedan sentiment or prejudice. Thus, as in India, the balance of power will be more evenly held.

While under this heading of "Moslem Provinces" it may be mentioned that the defeat and death of Sultan 'Ali Dinar has been regarded by the real Sudanese as a most satisfactory riddance. He ruled over Darfur from his capital, El-Fasher, without order and at times with much cruelty. Two of his own dynasty he caused to be assassinated some years ago, lest they should aspire to his place. Many of his troops are now enlisted in the Sudanese army, and Darfur province is governed by Major Saville, formerly governor of Kordofan.

The procession of the Darfur Mahmal by the long caravan route to El-Obeid and Omdurman and thence on to the Hejaz has for many years produced a deep impression

upon the people, expressing in a tangible form the adherence of distant tribes to the common faith.

Capt. H. H. S. Morant in *The Anglo-Egyptian Sudan*, edited by Count Gleichen, states that "The people of Darfur as a whole are followers of Islam, but the negroes in Jebel Marra, the Jebelawin, and those in the south and southwest have [apparently] no religion. The late Sheikh Senussi wrote three times to Sultan 'Ali Dinar asking him to prepare *zawias* for him, and to otherwise further his doctrine. 'Ali Dinar, however, considered it best to politely hold aloof from him, and there are no Senussites in El-Fasher."

The same authority gives several facts of value regarding centres of Mohammedan influence. "Sa'id 'Ali El Morghani, the head of the Morghani sect, whose home is the Khatmia under the northwest end of Jebel Kassala, has now taken up his abode at Omdurman, where, however, he is by no means so generally revered as in the Eastern Sudan. Sa'id 'Ali's ancestors were Ashraf at Mecca, and settled at Kassala at the beginning of the last century." "About seven miles east of Eifalun, which is situated on the Blue Nile, in the village of Um Dibban is the abode of the three brothers, sons of the famous sheikh El-Obeid, the powerful and fanatical Mahdist leader who defeated Mohammed 'Ali Pasha at Um Dibban in September, 1884, and who was the first dervish commander to besiege Khartum."

The Government's attitude toward opening Christian work in any of the northern and central provinces is expressed in the words of the late Lord Cromer, in his official report of 1903: "Mission work, properly so called, cannot as yet be permitted amongst the Moslem population of the Sudan; but I see no objection to the establishment of Christian schools at Khartum. Parents should, of course, be warned that instruction in the Christian religion is afforded." Evangelistic work leading to conversion and baptism is thus, for the time being, ruled out north of the tenth parallel. Yet a very wide field of effort is open through schools, hospitals, the wise use of literature, and the sale and distribution of the

Bible. Moreover, no one interferes with those Moslems who of their own initiative desire to attend any service of Christian worship.

III. Along the Border Line Between Paganism and Islam

A larger number of conversions to Islam has taken place among the Nuers than among any other black tribe. The Nuers occupy much of the wild country, abounding with big game along the upper Sobat, on both sides of the Pibor, and in the region of the Zeraf. They are a powerful and warlike people and are widely scattered, some clans living in the southern part of Sennar province and others in the foothills of the Abyssinian mountains. By raiding the riverain tribes, especially the Dinkas, they gain much booty in herds and flocks. At Nasser, which is the chief trading centre of the upper Sobat, there are about 700 Arabs who scrupulously perform their prayers, carry their rosaries and boast of the glories of their religion. A sheikh named Khogali Hassan is a thorough propagandist, his influence being felt as far as Roseires and other points in Sennar. Yet there cannot be said to be any wide movement or tendency on the part of the Nuer tribe to accept Islam. Probably these clans are impelled by their native pride and conservatism, as much as by the calculating medicine men, to withstand the invitations leading toward the ceremonies and creed of the Arabs. Syphilis has ravaged this tribe very extensively and the doctors on the field agree that the disease has been brought in and spread by the immoral behaviour of the Moslem traders and by their detestable habit of bringing prostitutes (also Moslems) from Omdurman, Khartum and other points. These wretched women are taken from village to village on the traders' boats, and every strategem is used to induce the boys and young men to yield to vice. The brewing and drinking of *marisa* is often followed by debauchery. No doubt syphilis existed to some degree among the primitive tribes, but the people are not wrong when they attribute this widespread scourge to the traders. The evidence

gathered by the mission doctors is more than enough to prove the point. So this is what the Moslems are doing for the black families of the African prairies!

The Buruns are an interesting people, adjacent to the Nuers, living in the southern part of the Sennar province. They are contemptuously called "slaves" by other tribes; but they have many good qualities. They are cultivators, for they plow the ground in a primitive fashion. They use bows and arrows, and paint themselves with a red paste from the *tulha* tree (a variety of acacia). Their confines are Jebel Ulu down to Khor Yabus, and south and east of Khor Yabus, and into the borders of Abyssinia. They are inclined to take up with Islam, and they regard the Fungs as their masters. There are very few Fungs now left, although this tribe once established a dynasty and a powerful kingdom, ruling over all of what is now Sennar. The Buruns of the Yabus understand no Arabic as a rule. Their word of greeting is *Moka*. Their whole country has been deplorably reduced by slave raids from the east. The principal raider, however, Ibrahim Wad Mahmud, was captured by Lt. Col. (now General) Gorringe in February, 1904. The southern Burun country is still largely unexplored. The people seem to have little intercourse with the tribes on the White Nile, and no regular roads to it.

The Anuaks, occupying the valleys and swampy country of the Akabo, Baro and Pibor rivers, have not been influenced by either Mohammedanism or Christianity. They are one of the most remote and the least known of the black tribes.

The Shilluks, who in ancient times migrated from the headwaters of the White Nile and now occupy widely separate regions on both sides of the White Nile and Sobat, are the only tribe having a king. They boast of an elaborate folk-lore with traditions not unlike the Greek myths. During the ravages of the Khalifa's armies, commonly known as the dervishes, the Shilluks bore the brunt of terrible brutalities. Hundreds of persons hiding in the marshes were run through with long, heavily barbed fish spears. Whole groups of villages were utterly

destroyed. Ghastly tales of bloodshed still haunt the minds of the people. Here again syphilis has been the worst curse of all and has come in from the omnipresent dealer who "dealeth treacherously." Dr. Wilkerson of Doleib Hill assured me that in his clinics 98 per cent of the patients have syphilis. And he has been treating from seventy to ninety patients daily. The habits of these people, their fetichism and animism, and their vague ideas of God are so well described by Dr. J. Kelly Giffen, D. Westermann, and Father Banholzer that there is no object in going into any details here. A concise and first-hand article by Rev. David S. Oyler of Doleib Hill has very recently appeared in the *Woman's Missionary Magazine* (United Presbyterian Board) on the subject of the Shilluk Medicine Men. Dogs, among other animals, are sacrificed by the Shilluks, which would indicate that the sacrificial customs are not copied from the Moslems.

The Dinkas form one of the largest and most widely distributed of the black tribes. They are found on the White Nile as far north as Renk, and as far south as Bor and Malek in Mongalla. They are distinctly a riverain people and are a low type, lazy and slow to learn. One large branch of the tribe occupies the basin of the Bahr-el-Arab, due west from the Sobat region. Capt. Morant states that "a certain number, owing to their having travelled to Khartum or even to Cairo, profess the Mohammedan faith, but their number is few. The remainder believe in the existence of a being who rules their destiny and whom they call Deng. He has many forms and shapes, from the spirit of a great departed sheikh to the more familiar personality of a favorite cow." I have it also on the authority of an experienced British official that some Dinkas having been forced into Islam by the dervishes, are now lapsing back into heathen ways and thoughts and do not even pretend to be Moslems. The Dinkas have medicine men who are not, however, a professional class, but live and work like the rest of the tribe. These priests are believed to have supernatural powers of conversing with those who are dead and have become the children of Deng Dit.

The mountainous character of much of the country in Mongalla has no doubt made for the diversity of tribes which exists. Inasmuch as many of these are far from the routes of trade, and as camels and donkeys cannot be used for travel and transport, owing to tropical insects such as the *serut* fly, these tribes are more isolated from Moslem influences than those hitherto mentioned. Especially in the Lado district Islam has scarcely made itself felt. And the Government would favor Christian missionary work among these people. There are faint memories of the Turks who invaded the valley districts, leaving the mountain regions to the aborigines.

In the extreme west of Bahr-el-Ghazal is an Arab tribe called the Quraish, but of these people little is known, as they are not on any of the main waterways. Nearly the whole of the 800,000 blacks who inherit this province are still in the darkness of animism and fetish worship. Dinkas occupy the borders of the chief rivers. Further south there are a number of purely pagan tribes such as the Niam Niam who inhabit the forests where rubber and mahogany are found. The Roman Catholic mission work has not penetrated much beyond Wau, the capital. Many of the channels become blocked with *sudd* or become very shallow in the dry season. For half the year Wau can be reached only by a *trek* of about 100 miles from Meshra-el-Rek. Boulnois, who is an authority on this province, says: "In making enquiries as to religious beliefs among the people here, one is met at the outset by two difficulties. The first and greater is the reticence displayed on such subjects by the natives, and the second is that the interpreter, being invariably an Arabic-speaking native who has with his Arabic acquired the Moslem faith, is liable to color his translations with ideas of his own, partly out of shame for the beliefs he has discarded and partly from his anxiety to tell you what he thinks you expect. Perseverance in this line of enquiry is, however, well repaid, as the primitive religions of the tribes are most interesting and suggestive. The Dinkas appear to have a most elaborate list of gods and demi-gods.

Their devil is called L'wal Burrajok and is the father of Abok, the wife of Deng Dit. . . . The Golos, also believe in male and female deities called Umvili and Barachi, respectively. This couple is said to have originated the human race, and to be parents of mankind. . . . Like the Dinkas they do not pray to God, but attempt to appease Him with sacrifices of chickens." Later the same writer speaks of the readiness with which the tribesmen of Bahr-el-Ghazal embrace Islam when they have been serving Moslem masters or have been recruited in Sudanese regiments.

A whole book could well be written on the Nuba Mountain country, which, by the way, must not be confused with Nubia far to the north. These rocky hills not only shelter aboriginal tribes, rarely seen along any of the trade routes, but they have been for centuries past the refuge of escaped slaves. The British Inspector lives at Dilling. Many of the tribes, especially those made up of ex-slaves, are either Moslem or under Moslem influence. This whole region fared very badly during the Khalifa's tyranny, yet is one of the more populous parts of the Sudan to-day. I understand the Australians of the Sudan United Mission are intending to establish work among these hills. It has proved to be very difficult to entirely root out the slave traffic. A recent case shows the firm way in which the British deal with law-breakers. A half-breed Arab kidnapped a Nuba Mountain boy and tried to sell him. The rascal was caught, tried and condemned to six years' imprisonment. The maximum sentence for this crime is ten years. Capt. Dumbell has done most efficient service in this branch of the Government.

While Kordofan may be counted throughout a Moslem province there are strange inconsistencies to be noted. Vestiges of animism are continually found in the daily living of the people. I found in the marketplace of El-Obeid charms made of chameleon's heads, covered with leather, being sold by Moslems to Moslems. Another charm used on long and perilous journeys has for its

central piece the tusks of a wart-hog, and on either side are attached ornamented leather pouches containing lines from the Koran written by some revered sheikh. It is possible that Moslem law would differentiate between the wart-hog and the domestic pig, for the former is certainly the cleaner both as to his food and habits! Many amulets are made from the skins of *waranas* or monitor lizards, and it is very common to see around a Moslem boy's neck or wrist a combination of animistic fragments of sacred trees, beaks of birds, teeth and other emblems, together with little wads of Arabic incantations or Koranic phrases printed on cheap yellow paper and wrapped in red leather. The regulation charm for a bride, in general use in Kordofan, is made of one rectangular and one cylindrical piece of *fakiqana* wood. It is said that after forest fires gold is sometimes found at the roots of these trees, and by the wearing of the wood good luck is assured to the bride. This particular charm is not supposed to have any writing in it. But those which the men cherish most highly are of strong leather cases, with Koranic phrases or certain words of magic power written by "holy men" whose piety has become renowned. The late Sheikh Dayf Allah Abu Harag received as much as two pounds for writing a single amulet, and the owner would not part with it for any sum. People went from Kordofan to his shrine near Wad Madani on the Blue Nile! A Moslem leather worker in El-Obeid told me that the two pouches adjoining a chameleon's head, which made up one of his charms, contained the heart of a tree (*'irig*) pulverized by grinding.

Throughout this province rosaries are in common use by even the very poorest of the people. These beads are frequently made of ebony, *kuk* and other native woods, and from the pits of the *higlig* fruit.

I believe that before Rev. G. A. Sowash and I were in El-Obeid this past winter the only Protestant missionaries who had visited the city were Mrs. Hall of the C. M. S. and Miss Warburton of the British Syrian Mission.

IV. What Has Blocked the Moslem Advance?

That the process of Islamizing has not passed beyond certain general boundaries and that well over a million of the inhabitants of the Sudan have more or less consciously resisted the efforts to break them loose from their ancestral religions are, I think, established facts. The question now arises: What are the causes which have prevented the complete Islamizing of the country? I believe they may be summed up as follows:

(1) The unspeakable cruelties of the Mahdists and other Arabs in their raids especially through the Shilluk and Dinda territories. Horrors rivalling the deeds of Attila were committed, and the memories of those long years of utter lawlessness rankle deep. The dervishes, thinking to terrify the polytheists into submission, overshot the mark and made their very name and religion abhorred.

(2) The prophet Isaiah speaks of the dealer who "dealeth treacherously," and this aptly describes the Moslem trader so often referred to in this article. The writer saw a Shilluk pay an Arab 80 piastres ($4.00) for a string of yellow glass beads with four tiny brass bells, worth perhaps five or six piastres! Sheep are sometimes taken in exchange for single china beads with pretty coloring. But the greed and treachery are only a part of the burden of sin dragged into the country by these representatives of a "higher religion." The suffering caused by the diseases spread through these traders, and through the prostitutes they take around with them, can scarcely be estimated. Only the blood of Calvary is able to cleanse away such sin as this!

(3) There is no doubt that the "medicine men" or witch doctors have resisted the encroachment of Islam. It is they who represent the inherited traditions of long centuries of animism, and they find a great gulf fixed between their own pretensions and the ceremonials and claims of the written Koran. Not only their reputation but their very livelihood is threatened; so they fill the minds of their people with opposition and distrust toward the Moslems.

(4) There is in many of these tribes, conspicuously the Shilluks and the Nuers, a naïve pride and a fixed conservatism which form a veritable bulwark against the approach of any new faith or custom. No Shilluk ancestors were ever Muslimeen; how could any brave in his right mind commit such a folly? This, perhaps, is the logic which has here militated in a fashion scarcely known in the history of the Islamizing of Java and Sumatra.

But in the very nature of current events these reasons for resistance are fading. The atrocities of the Khalifa's generals are gradually lost sight of, as the older generation passes away. The traders are brought more and more under the vigilant eye of British officials who will not tolerate the exploiting of the people. The beginnings of education and contact with the West at once tend to undermine the grotesque magic of the medicine men. And the tribal prejudices do not last forever.

V. Christianization

What then is able to block the advance of Islam? Nothing short of Christianization. And in order that that great experience may be accomplished the sooner, every branch and brotherhood of the Christian Church must put forth a united and undaunted effort.

It is not in the province of this article to describe the opening of missionary work, evangelistic, educational, industrial and medical, at the various stations. Heroic service is being done, both in the central cities of Khartum and Omdurman, and at the frontier posts among the black tribes. Nor is it possible here to narrate the touching experiences of the first converts to Christ. But these signs of fruit in the branches of the Vine are not lacking. American missionaries are stationed at Khartum, Khartum North, Omdurman, Doleib Hill and Nasser, the latter posts being on the Sobat. It is earnestly proposed to establish two more posts for evangelistic and medical work in a line between Abyssinia and the mouth of the Sobat, with the object of stemming Mohammedan progress. A second convert has just been baptized at Doleib Hill by

Rev. D. S. Oyler who preaches weekly to over 200 Shilluks.

The Church Missionary Society has schools and hospital work in Omdurman, Khartum and Wad Madani, and stations at Lau in Bahr-el-Ghazal and at Malek in Mongalla. The Government has assigned to this society the upper portion of the White Nile valley for missionary work, thus ultimately linking up with the Anglican Church in Uganda.

The Sudan United Mission has made a brave beginning under trying climatic conditions at Melut and Rom on the White Nile.

Important areas for Christian work, including Bahr-el-Ghazal, the west bank of the White Nile and Kordofan have been in a general way assigned by the Government to the Austrian Roman Catholic Mission, which despite the war is maintaining most of its work.

Broadly speaking, school and hospital work have thus far made the deepest impression upon Mohammedans. It seems best in the South not to encourage the Arabic language which is only too apt to be a vehicle for things Islamic. Christ will speak to these tribes in their own tongues. And, please God, wholesome Sunday School literature which appeals to boys and girls will be produced in Arabic for the Northern provinces.

As for the future of the Sudan there is reason for great faith. The black tribes are not unlike the Zulus and the Baganda. There are qualities in the Arab nature which Christ can use mightily for His glorious purposes. The establishment of a just and firm government proceeds, as the British authority is extended. The agricultural resources of the country will undoubtedly become very rich. The Sudan has been, indeed, a country of ten thousand bitter tragedies. And the stain of sin is deep. But we have Jesus Christ, all powerful and all-gracious, to wash away the sin and to give new life and hope.

As I think of the fundamental needs of the Sudanese and as I remember the pierced Savior lifted upon the Cross, the lines by Victor Hugo express the thought of my heart:

"Vous qui pleurez, venez à ce Dieu, car il pleure;
Vous qui souffrez, venez à lui, car il guérit;
Vous qui tremblez, venez à lui, car il sourit;
Vous qui passez, venez à lui, car il demeure."

Surely the constellation of the Southern Cross, shining like a fair jewel in the heavens, is both a sign and a promise of that great love which is sufficient for the completion of the missionary enterprise, not only in the Sudan, but through the Sudan to the heart of Africa.

STEPHEN TROWBRIDGE.

Cairo.

KAIROUAN AS A MOSLEM CENTRE

WHILE Kairouan is of no small importance to-day as a Moslem centre, its greater glory and far-reaching rule are things of the distant past. In this, Kairouan is a typical Moslem city. It is well to speak first of its past, for therein lies the reason of the city's present importance, the halo of the past glory still lingering about the diminished pride of to-day. A tradition classes Kairouan as the fourth of the holy cities, following after Mecca, Medina and Jerusalem. As a fact, the city has been a peculiarly Moslem one, ever since its marking out by 'Okba bin Nafia' in 50 A.H., where a Moslem camp had already existed some years. It then became and long remained a seat of Moslem rule, and during centuries, right up to the French occupation in 1881, no Christian or Jew was allowed to dwell in it, and very rarely was it even visited by any Christian traveller. Herein, Kairouan differed from the coast-towns which were generally more or less contaminated by the presence of the unbelievers, and even passed at times under European rule, and thus its holy character was preserved. Its most glorious days were from about 800 to 1100 A.D. under the Aghlabite and following dynasties, when its rulers held sway from Egypt to the Atlantic, wholly or semi-independent of the Khalifs.

Later the seat of government passed from Kairouan and finally became fixed at Tunis, while Kairouan diminished greatly in size, suffering much during the frequent struggles of rival claimants for power. Evidence of the former extent of the city appears all round it to-day in mounds of broken bricks and buildings rubbish.

The actual population is about 26,000. With the entry of the French troops in 1881, the town was thrown open

to Christians and Jews for residence. Yet even now, there are only some 700 non-Moslem residents (more than half of them Jews) of whom a great part live outside of the town walls. Their number does not increase, for while Kairouan is the administrative centre for a large district, it is not, nor is it likely to become, a place of much modern trade or industry. Thus the city still remains almost entirely a Moslem one, where the tide of Western progress advances but slowly and the native in European dress is still the rare exception. This increases its interest to the missionary.

The religious prestige of the city remained after its governmental importance had declined, and the French found Kairouan the religious centre of opposition in their occupation of Tunisia. After its surrender Kairouan was obliged to allow all Europeans, with an official permit, to enter the mosques, and the Great Mosque is on the regular tourist's round, whereas elsewhere throughout Tunisia, mosques are carefully guarded against the unbeliever. Kairouan has become accustomed to the unbeliever's presence and violent fanaticism has disappeared. But the city's religious fame still lives throughout the country.

From other towns and from the plain and distant hills men come in large and small parties to visit the Great Mosque, and also the so-called Barber's Mosque just outside the town, the Zawia and burial-place of Abou Zemaā el Balawi, one of the Prophet's companions. Only three or four other mosques are of any importance, but these are very small ones, while saints' tombs of all degrees of size or obscurity abound. The 'Aissaweya and other brotherhoods have their Zawias, and everything connected with saint worship has a strong hold on the people.

The Great Mosque or Mosque of Sidi Okba was founded by him at the same time as the town itself, 50 A.H. It was then quite a primitive building.

The mosque in its present form is mainly due to Ziadet-Allah bin Aghlab, and dates from 203 A.H. The plan is simple and nowhere perfectly regular, while its hundreds

of columns were taken from buildings of the Roman epoch, of every variety of style and finish, In it is a group of great colored marble pillars standing close together, of which it is said that he who can pass between them is sure to enter heaven. Only last year when visiting the mosque, the writer saw a country Arab in all seriousness squeezing himself between these pillars, and heard him say afterwards "That removes a lot of sins." Also in this mosque, the *imam* is careful to face exactly the mihrab, for Sidi Okba is said to have fixed its direction by a special revelation. Hence "*Laisafih tahrif*" ("there is no inflection in it") as there may be in other mosques.

Abou Zemaā was killed in battle during one of the earliest Moslem invasions (34 A.H.), and his headdress containing some hairs of the Prophet's beard was buried with him.

Kairouan is no longer a great centre of learning, but classes in Moslem law, etc., are still held in the Great Mosque where students can prepare for examination in Tunis. The French government early established a Franco-Arab school, which has developed greatly and is now installed in a large new building. More recently a similar school has been started for native girls, and after various initial difficulties through Moslem prejudice, etc., is making good progress. Many of the old fashioned "*kuttabs*" however still flourish with little change in the manner and matter of their teaching.

The prevailing "*madhab*" is Maliki. The "*Moulid*" is generally the occasion of great decorations and a general holiday during several days, while the town receives many visitors from all over Tunisia. But in consequence of the war and poor harvests, the "*Moulid*" has passed without any show the last few years.

There are practically no villages near Kairouan, and the greater part of the surrounding population is scattered in groups of tents and moves to some extent from place to place.

Kairouan is the only large town within a range of about one hundred miles (save Sousse on the coast), and from all this stretch of country, Arabs visit it on business

of all kinds. There is no other mission station for Moslems within this range.

Kairouan was first occupied by the North Africa Mission in 1897; the writer and his wife arrived in 1903, and during the last few years have been the only workers stationed here.

To sum up, Kairouan by its past religious history is a place of much influence among Moslems. Though the percentage of literati is very low the town includes a number of men educated on the old lines, firmly attached to their old faith, no longer aggressively hostile, but rather avoiding missionary efforts. There is also the younger element of those whose religious ideas have become broader and shallower under European influence and education.

In the surrounding country lives the great mass of "Arabs," very ignorant, but without the strong prejudice bred by religious knowledge, who can be reached either when they come to town, or by being visited in their tents and marketplaces in the country. The women are all on the same level as the country men in their ignorance and superstition, in their general lack of prejudice and their readiness to listen.

O that from this centre the glory and power of the Gospel might now radiate, pure and spiritual as the vanished Moslem glory and power of Kairouan never was!

EVAN E. SHORT.

THE LONDON SCHOOL OF ORIENTAL STUDIES

A Great Opportunity for Missionary Students

A great and long-wished-for step forward in the encouragement of Oriental learning was taken when, in June 1916, the Royal Charter was issued for the establishment of the "School of Oriental Studies, London Institution," in Finsbury Circus, London E. C. The term "Oriental" is used in an elastic sense in the title of this new Institution, which was formally opened by His Majesty King George V. on the 23d Feb., 1917. "Oriental" is meant to include African and Oceanic, for the studies to be encouraged are not confined to those connected with Asia but may almost be said to promise to become world-wide, so extensive is the field which they already cover, or which it is hoped they will ultimately deal with.

It has long been felt that we in England were wofully remiss in providing for the prosecution of such studies. The British Empire includes men of many different races and a vast diversity of tongues and variety of religions, manners and customs. To enable us to understand and sympathise with one another and so afford help and assistance to each other, it is above all necessary that opportunity should be afforded of learning one another's languages and way of thinking. In fact, in order that we may be able to accomplish the manifold tasks involved in bearing our share of "The White Man's Burden," it is necessary that we should diligently study all these matters. Hitherto no adequate opportunity has ever been given for doing this on a large scale. It is true that chairs of some of the leading oriental languages have long been established at the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, and that some of the most distinguished Orientalists in the world have occupied these chairs from time to time; these have done good work, though on a very

limited scale. The number of students of such languages as Arabic, Chinese, Persian, for example, to be found any year at Oxford or Cambridge was trifling. For this many causes were answerable. No proper encouragement was given to young men to devote themselves in earnest to these subjects. Those who did so were almost exclusively preparing for the Egyptian, or Indian, civil service, or perhaps for consular service in China. Few, if any, were studying with a view to missionary or commercial spheres of labour. The need of Oriental studies was not generally recognised. Even missionary societies rather discouraged than encouraged their students, if the latter desired to begin to lay a foundation at home for the languages they would imperatively require in the mission field. Moreover, it was impossible for many would-be students of Asian and African languages to go to these universities, even had adequate provision been there made for teaching all the languages and other subjects which they needed to know. The "Res angustae domi" had a good deal to do with the matter. A large number (and by no means the least industrious) of those who wished to study Eastern tongues were for a great part of their time engaged in commercial and other pursuits, not a few of them in London. Hence even the somewhat scanty provision for these Oriental studies made at Oxford and Cambridge was not fully appreciated.

Besides all this, it was self-evident that the capital of the empire was the natural place for the establishment of an Oriental Institution on a proper scale, at which the whole duty of the staff would be to encourage such studies to the greatest degree possible. The example of Petrograd, Paris, and Berlin (*fas est et ab hoste doceri*), and the great success of Oriental schools established there, made this clearer than ever. In the case of London* the desirability of establishing such an institution was all the greater because London is the natural meeting-place of all nations, the veritable centre of the business (if not

*Lack of means had greatly hampered the proper development and the work of the Chairs of certain Oriental Languages established years ago at University College and King's College, London. These have now been taken over (with the exception of the Chairs of Assyriology, Egyptology, and Hebrew) by the newly established institution.

of the literary) world. In London, therefore at last a good beginning has been made with the School of Oriental Studies, which is comfortably and commodiously housed in Finsbury Circus.

In replying to the King's Speech when he declared the school open, on Feb. 23d last, Lord Curzon of Kedleston stated that the primary object of the institution was to become "an educational centre, where administrators and soldiers, merchant and missionary, will learn the languages, study the history, and absorb the customs of the East." He added that it was hoped "to send forth those men in every sphere better equipped for the work that they are about to undertake." Sir John Prescott Hewett, chairman of the governing body, said that what the school aimed at most of all was:

"*First*, to provide a place where our young men, who will presently be engaged in governing or garrisoning the Oriental and African parts of the empire, may learn the languages and study the literature, the religions, and the customs of the peoples with whom they will so soon be brought into contact, and their influence over whom will largely depend upon their familiarity with indigenous character, ideas, and institutions.

"*Secondly*, to offer a training to those who are about to proceed to the same countries to take part in commercial enterprise or other avocations, or for purposes of study and research.

"*Thirdly*, to furnish to the capital of the empire a meeting-ground and focus for scholars from the East of various nationalities, where, on their visits to this country, they may be assured of a sympathetic welcome, and find at hand, if they desire them, opportunities for study among those engaged in kindred pursuits."

In the words of the Charter, the scope of the institution's labours is very wide indeed. It is to be "A School of Oriental Studies in the University of London to give instruction in the languages of Eastern and African peoples, Ancient and Modern, and in the Literature, History, Religion and Customs of those peoples, especially with a view to the needs of persons about to proceed to the East

or to Africa for the pursuit of study and research, commerce or a profession, and to do all or any of such other things as the governing body of the school consider conducive or incidental thereto, having regard to the provision for those purposes which already exists elsewhere, and in particular to the co-ordination of the work of the school with that of similar institutions both in this country and in our Eastern and African Dominions and with the work of the University of London and its other schools."

At the outset, arrangements were made to provide instruction in no less than twenty languages, divided into seven groups. These were:

Group I.: (Ancient India): Sanskrit and Pali.

Group II.: (The Near East): 1, Arabic, comprising (a) Classical Arabic and (b) Colloquial Arabic (the dialects of Egypt, Baghdad, and Syria); 2, Persian; 3, Turkish.

Group III.: (Northern, Eastern and Western India): 1, Hindustani and Hindi; 2, Bengali; 3, Marathi; 4, Gujarati.

Group IV.: (Southern India): 1, Tamil and Telugu; 2, Tamil and Singhalese.

Group V.: (Further India, Malay Archipelago): 1, Burmese; 2, Malay.

Group VI.: (The Far East): 1, Chinese; (a) Mandarin; (b) Cantonese; 2, Japanese; 3, Tibetan.

Group VII.: (African Languages): 1, Swahili and Bantu Languages; 2, Hausa.

In addition to these the governing body in its preliminary announcement expressed the hope that—later on—it would be possible to add to the curriculum the following languages: Amharic, Armenian, Assamese, Luganda, Melanesian Languages, Panjabi, Pashto, Polynesian Languages, Siamese, Somali, Yoruba, and Zulu.

Were the course of studies confined to languages alone, no one could say that the scheme was lacking in ambition. But we shall see further on that much more than merely linguistic work is aimed at. Under the able directorship of Sir E. Denison Ross it is not too much to say that the

Institution, although so young, is already in a fair way to the attainment of the important objects for which it has been started. There were some 75 students on the books during the first term, while at the beginning of the second term about 100 entered.

It is well understood that the languages taught must be studied both theoretically and practically. For instance, it will be noticed that in Arabic instruction is not confined to the "Book Arabic," the classical tongue, but that the modern spoken dialects of Egypt, Syria, and Mesopotamia, are also carefully taught.

In studying a foreign tongue there are certain dangers to be avoided. On the one hand, if the teacher is an Englishman, while he may have a thoroughly scientific knowledge of the language which he is teaching, his pronunciation may be by no means perfect. He may also have a tendency to use stilted and somewhat antiquated phraseology. On the other hand, he should have the great advantage over a "native" teacher of knowing by personal experience the special difficulties of whatever kind which the language presents to a European student, and what are the best means of overcoming them. Again, if the instructor is an Asiatic or an African who is teaching his own mother-tongue, his knowledge of it, in both its ancient and its modern form, ought to be all that can be desired, and in pronunciation and acquaintance with all the vastly important minutiae of the idiom he should be superior to the English teacher. Yet he may have no idea whatever of how to teach the language to Europeans, unless under careful direction. Now the method which would combine the advantages and eliminate the disadvantages of having either a European or a "native" teacher would be to have both, working in perfect harmony with one another. Alas! this ideal state of things is rarely attainable, least of all in the mission field (except in a few places where schools of languages have been established at certain great centres). But it *is* attained at the London School of Oriental Studies, as a glance at the list of lecturers and assistant lecturers will show. Native teachers of the colloquial dialects of such tongues

as Arabic, Chinese, Persian, etc., give instruction, under the direction of European lecturers.

As we have intimated above, besides a large number of languages, instruction is given in many other subjects. One of the most important of these is phonetics, on which a course of six lectures has been arranged to be delivered during the summer term this year. Other courses are given on such subjects as Oriental Religions and Philosophies, African Religions, Eastern Family Life, Customs, Essential Ideas, Indian Law and History, and so on. Students who wish to learn any language not already on the list (provided it be an Oriental language) are encouraged to apply to the director. Doubtless Sir E. Denison Ross would similarly give favourable consideration to any reasonable suggestion with regard to courses of lectures on subjects other than linguistic.

From what has been said it must be evident what an inestimable boon the establishment of this School of Oriental Studies is to all who desire to devote themselves to foreign mission work. The school is most valuable to all who are at all connected with Asia and Africa or interested therein; but it would be impossible to exaggerate its value to all missionary students and societies. In one of the publications of the new Institution it is styled "A Pillar of Empire and Commerce." Deserving as it doubtless is of such a title, it might with far more justice be termed a "Royal Highway to Mission Work." The key is thus put into the young missionary's hand wherewith to open many of the doors through which he must pass to do his Master's work. Moreover, the institution desires to encourage missionary students to avail themselves of its advantages. In a letter to the writer the director says, "We have a fair number of missionary students studying such languages as Persian, Tibetan and Hindustani, and we are in close touch with such organisations as the Board of Study for the Preparation of Missionaries, the Moravian Missions, and the Zenana Bible and Medical Mission; and I hope we shall have many missionary students in the future."

There can be no question that all missions should make the fullest possible use of this language school. It may sometimes be of value to missionaries home on furlough, but to those going out for the first time it will soon be proved to be indispensable. Instead of any longer depending on the rather haphazard methods of learning languages adopted until very recently in the mission field, missionaries designate can now obtain at home, under the most favourable auspices, a thorough grounding in the tongues spoken in their future spheres of work. The only difficulty still remaining is to impress this fact on the minds of the governing bodies of the various missionary societies, and persuade them to fix the locations of their outgoing missionaries a year beforehand, thus enabling them to begin their linguistic training before leaving England. The Indian civil service, the chamber of commerce, the army, the diplomatic service,—all admit the necessity of such preliminary study. It is to be hoped that our great missionary societies will imitate them, now that the way is open for their candidates to obtain careful and most valuable instruction at a very slight expense. Health, time, and money will thus all alike be saved, nor will it henceforth be possible for a man or woman to go out to the foreign field and be compelled to return home in a year or two through inability to learn a language. This "inability,"—if such a thing really exists—will be detected in the School of Oriental Studies and probably removed by the care and advice of the professors and lecturers of the school. If not so removed, its detection at an early stage will prevent disappointment and waste of time.

We think so highly of the School and its wide possibilities that we again express our confident hope that missionaries will fully avail themselves of them. It would have been well worth while for missionary societies to combine years ago to start and support such a school at their own expense for training their missionaries, had not a very shortsighted policy prevented such a step. Now, however, that the institution has been founded and has successfully begun its work under the auspices of the

state, and on a far larger and more effective scale than would have been otherwise possible, all who are interested in the spread of Christ's Kingdom should thank God for the greatest boon conferred upon workers in the mission field in this generation. It comes just at the very time when we feel that new fields will be opened as a result of the present war, and when a vastly increased number of missionaries will be required to enter upon them.

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TRANSMISSION OF THE KUR'ĀN ACCORDING TO CHRISTIAN WRITERS*

PART II

IN considering the question of the transmission of the Kur'ān according to Christian writers, the reader will feel that he is more in the domain of historical facts than in that of the precarious Hadīth; unfortunately, any information found in books written at the very beginning of Islām, is naturally scanty. In face of the conflagration which, in a few years shook the political foundations of the near East, Christian writers were more anxious to save their skin from the onslaughts of the *Ishmaelites* and *Hagarians*—as they used to call the early Arabs—than to study the kind of religion they professed. Syriac books, however, contain important data which throw great light upon our subject, and overshadow by their antiquity the tardy Muslim Hadīth of the ninth century.

The first account is, in order of date, the colloquy or the discussion which took place in Syria between 'Amr b. Al'Ās and the Monophysite Patriarch of Antioch, John I, in the eighteenth year of the Hijra (Sunday, 9 May, 639 A.D.). It has been published from a MS. in the British Museum dated 874 A.D. by F. Nau, in the *Journal Asiatique*.† The Patriarch was summoned before 'Amr along with five bishops and a great number of notable Christians, and some days after the discussion, the Patriarch and the bishops wrote a careful report of what had happened, and sent it to the Christians of Mesopotamia, asking them to "pray for the illustrious Amīr, that God might grant him wisdom and enlighten him in what is the will of the Lord." The questions that 'Amr asked and the introductory words of the colloquy are as follows:

*Concluded from July. Reprinted by permission from *The Journal of the Manchester Egyptian and Oriental Society*, 1916.

†Mars-Avril, 1915, p. 248 *sq.*

. . . We inform your love that on the ninth of this month of May, on the holy Sunday, we went in before the glorious General Amīr. The blessed Father of all was asked by the Amīr whether the Gospel which is in the hands of all who are called Christians in all the world, was one and without any difference whatever. The blessed Patriarch answered . . . Then the Amīr asked why if the Gospel was one, faith was different; and the Patriarch answered . . .

The Amīr then asked, "What do you think of the Christ? Is He God or not? Our Father then answered . . ." And the glorious Amīr asked him this question, "When the Christ, whom you call God, was in the womb of Mary, who was holding and governing heaven and earth?" Our blessed Father answered . . . And the glorious Amīr said, "What were the views and the belief of Abraham and Moses?" Our blessed Father answered . . . And the Amīr said, "Why did they not write clearly and show their belief about the Christ?" and our blessed Father answered . . . When the Amīr heard these things, he only asked whether the Christ born of Mary was God, and whether God had a son, and whether this could be proved from the Torah and by reason. And our blessed Father said, "Not only Moses, but all the holy prophets have previously related these points of the Christ . . ." And the glorious Amīr said that he would not accept the proof of these points by quotations from the prophets; but only required that it should be proved to him by quotations from Moses that the Christ was God. And the blessed Father among other quotations, brought forth the following from Moses, "Then the Lord from before the Lord brought down fire and brimstone upon Sodom and Gomorrah;"* and the glorious Amīr required that this quotation should be shown to him in the Book. And our Father showed it to him without delay,† in the complete Greek and Syriac Books. In that assembly, some Hagarians (Muslims) were present with us, and they saw the

*Genesis xix, 24.

†Nau translates the Syriac expression *dla tūhhāya* by "sans erreur possible," instead of "easily, without delay."

text* with their own eyes, and the existence of the glorious name of the Lord twice. And the Amīr called a certain Jew, who was believed by the Jews to be a Knower of Books, and asked him if this was literally true in the Torah; and the Jew answered "I do not know with certainty."

Then the Amīr digressed from this point and asked about the laws of the Christians, how and what they were, and if they were written in the Gospel; and asked, too, if a man dies and leaves sons or daughters, with a wife, a mother, a sister and a cousin, how would his heritage be divided between them? . . . A long discussion ensued; and not only the best-known men among the Hagarians (Muslims) were present there, but also the heads and the rulers of the town, and of the faithful and Christ-loving tribes: Tannūkhians, Tu'ians, and 'Akulians.† And the glorious Amīr said, "I want you to do one of these three things: either to show me that your laws are written in the Gospel, and that you are following them, or to follow the laws of the Hagarians (Muslims)." And our Father answered, "Our laws, the laws of us Christians, are just, equitable, and in harmony with the teaching and the Commandment of the Gospel, the prescriptions of the Apostles and the laws of the Church." It is with this that the first gathering of that day ended, and up to now we have not been again before the Amīr."

From this important document written in the fifth year of 'Umar's Caliphate and possibly‡ some months after the terrible *year of ashes*, and of plague,§ we can safely infer (1) that no Bible was translated into Arabic at that early period;‖ (2) that the teaching of the Kur'ān on the matter of heritages, the denial of the divinity and the death of Christ and on the subject of the Torah, which is given a marked predilection in Muhammad's oracles, was familiar to the muslims present in the discussion; (3)

*Lit. "the writings."

†Christian Arab tribes of Southern Syria.

‡It is very difficult to determine with exactitude the chronology of events at this period of Arab conquests.

§*Cf.* W. Muir, *The Caliphate: its Rise, Decline and Fall*, 1915, p. 153 *sq.*

‖*Cf.* in *Patrologia Orientalis*, V, p. 51, the Arabic text edited by B. Evetts.

that no Islāmic Book was mentioned when the colloquy took place; (4) that some of the early Arab conquerors knew how to read and to write.*

About A.D. 647, in the first years of 'Uthmān's Caliphate, the famous Patriarch of Seleucia, Isho'yahb III, said in one of his letters which he wrote when still bishop of Nineveh, "In excusing yourselves falsely, you might perhaps say, or the Heretics might make you say, 'What has happened was due to the order given by the Arabs' (Tayyāyé); but this would not be true at all, because the Arab Hagarians (Muslims) do not help those who attribute sufferings and death to God, the Lord of everything."† From what we know of Isho'yahb, he would have surely mentioned or quoted the Islāmic Book, had he known it, or even heard of it (*cf.*, Ibid p. 251).

The anonymous writer printed by Guidi‡ knows nothing about a sacred Book of Islām in A.D. 680, at the time of the Umayyad Caliphate of Yazīd, son of Mu'āwiah. He believed the Arabs to be simply the descendents of Ishmael, who professed the old Abrahamic faith, and gives Muhammad as a mere general, without any religious character. "Then God raised against (the Persians) the sons of Ishmael like the sand of the sea-shores, with their leader Muhammad . . . As to the Ka'bah we cannot know what it was, except in supposing that the blessed Abraham having become very rich in possessions, and wanting to avoid the envy of the Canaanites, chose to dwell in the distant and large localities of the desert; and as he was living under tents, built that place for the worship of God and the offering of sacrifices; for this reason, this place received its title of our days, and the memory of the place was transmitted from generation to generation with the evolution of the Arab race. It was not, therefore, new for the Arabs to worship in that place, but their worship therein was from the beginning of their days; in this, they were rendering honour to the father of the head of their race . . . and Madīnah was

*These, however, might have been Jewish or Christian renegades.
†Edit. Duval *Corp. Script. Christ. Orient*, tomus LXIV, p. 97.
‡*Chronica Minora*, Ibid. tomus IV, pp. 30 and 38.

called after Madian, the fourth son of Abraham from Keturah; the town is also called Yathrib."

John Bar Penkāyé* has some interesting records in his Chronicle about the early Arab conquests and the famous *Shurāt* of whose exploits he was an eye-witness, but he does not know that these Arabs had any sacred Book in A.D. 690, when he was writing, under the Caliphate of 'Abdul-Mālik. "The Arabs, as I have said above, had a certain order from the one who was their leader, in favour of the Christian people and the monks; they held also, under his leadership, the worship of one God, according to the customs of the Old Covenant; at the outset they were so attached to the tradition of Muhammad who was their teacher, that they inflicted the pain of death upon any one who seemed to contradict his tradition† . . . Among them there were many Christians, some from the Heretics,‡ and some from us."§

From these quotations and from many passages of some contemporary writers, it is evident that the Christian historians of the whole of the seventh century had no idea that the "Hagarian" conquerors had any sacred Book; similar is the case among historians and theologians of the beginning of the eighth century. It is only towards the end of the first quarter of this century that the Kur'ān became the theme of conversation in Nestorian, Jacobite, and Melchite ecclesiastical circles. The Christians, in spite of the intolerant attitude of Muslim Caliphs and governors, continued to write, frequently under pain of death, many polemical lucubrations in refutation of the sacred Book of Islām, which met with a swarm of answers from the Muslim side. For the end of the century the reader will find good information in Steinschneider's well-known work.|| Some years before this date two important publications, not yet edited, saw the light, *viz.*, the Refutation of the Kur'ān by Abū Nōh, secretary to the

*A. Mingana, *Sources Syriaques*, vol. I, pt. 2, p. 146 *sqq.*

†Notice the Syriac word *Mashilmānūtha* "tradition" in its rapport with "a written thing."

‡*i.e.*, Monophysites.

§*i. e.*, Nestorians.

||*Pol. und Apol. Litteratur in Arab. Sprache*, 1877.

Governor of Mosul,* and the apology of Christianity by Timothy, Nestorian Patriarch of Seleucia, recently made known by Braun in *Oriens Christianus*.†

So far as the transmission of the Kur'ān is concerned, by far the most important work is the apology of al-Kindi, critically studied in 1887 by W. Muir.‡

Casanova writes: "Il faut, je crois, dans l'histoire critique du Coran, faire une place de premier ordre au Chrétien Kindite."§ According to this Kindite, who wrote some forty years before Bukhāri, the history of the Kur'ān is, briefly, as follows:|| "Sergius,¶ a Nestorian monk, was excommunicated for a certain offence; to expiate it he set out on a mission to Arabia; in Maccah he met Muhammad with whom he had intimate converse. At the death of the monk, two Jewish doctors, 'Abdallah and Ka'b, ingratiated themselves with Muhammad and had great influence over him. Upon the Prophet's death, and at the instigation of the Jews, 'Ali refused to swear allegiance to Abu Bakr, but when he despaired of succeeding to the Caliphate, he presented himself before him, forty days (some say six months) after the Prophet's death. As he was swearing allegiance to him, he was asked, 'O Father of Hasan, what hath delayed thee so long?' He answered, 'I was busy collecting the Book of the Lord, for that the Prophet committed to my care.' The men present about Abu Bakr represented that there were scraps and pieces of the Kur'ān with them as well as with 'Ali; and then it was agreed to collect the whole from every quarter together. So they collected various parts from the memory of individuals (as Sūratul-Barā'ah, which they wrote out at the dictation of a certain Arab

*Assemani, B. O. III, 1, 212.

†1901, p. 150.

‡*The Apology of al-Kindy written at the court of al-Māmūn circa*, A.D. 830. An excellent edition of this work has recently appeared in Egypt in the "Nile Mission Press," whose chairman is Dr. S. M. Zwemer.

§Ibid. p. 119.

||*Cf.* Muir, Ibid. p. 70 *sq.*

¶The predominant role of this monk will be carefully set forth in our future studies. The Arab authors who scarcely knew any other language besides the Arabic, confused his name with the title *Bhīra* given by Aramæans to every monk; see Nau, *Expansion Nestorienne en Asie*, 1914, pp. 213–223, who showed how misleading was the practice of some scholars who simply availed themselves of the tardy Muslim Hadīth.

from the desert), and other portions from different people; besides that which was copied out from tablets of stone, and palm-leaves, and shoulder-bones, and such like. It was not at first collected in a volume, but remained in separate leaves. Then the people fell to variance in their reading; some read according to the version of 'Ali, which they follow to the present day; some read according to the collection of which we have made mention; one party read according to the text of ibn Mas'ūd, and another according to that of Ubayy ibn Ka'b.

"When 'Uthmān came to power, and people everywhere differed in their reading, 'Ali sought grounds of accusation against him, compassing his death. One man would read a verse one way, and another man another way; and there was change and interpolation, some copies having more and some less. When this was represented to 'Uthmān, and the danger urged of division, strife, and apostacy, he thereupon caused to be collected together all the leaves and scraps that he could, together with the copy that was written out at the first. But they did not interfere with that which was in the hands of 'Ali, or of those who followed his reading. Ubayy was dead by this time; as for ibn Mas'ūd, they demanded his exemplar, but he refused to give it up. Then they commanded Zaid ibn Thābit, and with him 'Abdallah ibn 'Abbās, to revise and correct the text, eliminating all that was corrupt; they were instructed, when they differed on any reading, word, or name, to follow the dialect of the Kuraish.

"When the recension was completed, four exemplars were written out in large text; one was sent to Maccah, and another to Madīnah; the third was despatched to Syria, and is to this day at Malatya; the fourth was deposited in Kūfah. People say that this last copy is still extant at Kūfah, but this is not the case, for it was lost in the insurrection of Mukhtār (A.H. 67). The copy at Maccah remained there till the city was stormed by Abu Sarāyah (A.H. 200); he did not carry it away; but it is supposed to have been burned in the conflagration. The Madīnah exemplar was lost in the reign of terror, that is, in the days of Yazīd b. Mu'āwiah (A.H. 60–64).

"After what we have related above, 'Uthmān called in all the former leaves and copies, and destroyed them, threatening those who held any portion back; and so only some scattered remains, concealed here and there, survived. Ibn Mas'ūd, however, retained his exemplar in his own hands, and it was inherited by his posterity, as it is this day; and likewise the collection of 'Ali has descended in his family.*

"Then followed the business of Hajjāj b. Yūsuf, who gathered together every single copy he could lay hold of, and caused to be omitted from the text a great many passages. Among these, they say, were verses revealed concerning the House of Umayyah with names of certain persons, and concerning the House of 'Abbās also with names.† Six copies of the text thus revised were distributed to Egypt, Syria, Madīnah, Maccah, Kūfah, and Basrah.‡ After that he called in and destroyed all the preceding copies, even as 'Uthmān had done before him. The enmity subsisting between 'Ali and Abū Bakr, 'Umar and 'Uthmān is well known; now each of these entered in the text whatever favoured his own claims, and left out what was otherwise. How, then, can we distinguish between the genuine and the counterfeit? And what about the losses caused by Hajjāj? The kind of faith that this tyrant held in other matters is well-known; how can we make an arbiter as to the Book of God a man who never ceased to play into the hands of the Umayyads whenever he found opportunity?"

Then al-Kindi, addressing his Muslim friend, says: "All that I have said is drawn from your own authorities, and no single argument has been advanced but what is based on evidence accepted by yourselves; in proof thereof, we have the Kur'ān itself, which is a confused heap, with neither system nor order."

It should be noticed here that something which might be termed an answer to al-Kindi from the Muslim side has

*These details will be studied in future.

†*Cf. Geschichte des Qorāns*, 1909, p. 255 (edit. Schwally).

‡This fact receives a direct confirmation from ibn Dukmāk and Makrīzī quoted on p. 33.

been discovered among the Arabic manuscripts of the John Rylands Library, Manchester. In a MS., dated 616 of the Hijrah, I found the *Kitābud-Dini wad-Daulah*, "Book of Religion and Empire," written in A.D. 855, by the physician 'Ali b. Rabbanat-Tabarī, at the request of the Caliph Mutawakkil. It is an official Apology of Islām, appearing at an interval of some twenty years after the Apology of Christianity by al-Kindi. On the important point of the transmission of the Kur'ān, the author is content to appeal to the piety, asceticism, and devotion of the early Caliphs and disciples of the Prophet, and says, "If such people may be accused of forgery and falsehood, the disciples of the Christ might also be accused of the same." This is a meagre answer to the historical indictments of al-Kindi.

We trust that the Arabists will rightly value the outstanding importance of this new work, written before all the traditional compilations of the second half of the ninth century. So far as the religious system of Islam is concerned, it is of an unparalleled significance, containing, as it does, many traditions dealing with the Prophet, his religion and his disciples, which are not found elsewhere. I have prepared the text for the press and translated it with some critical annotations required by its antiquity and its extrinsic and intrinsic importance.* After a long introduction in which the author praises Islām, gives good advice to be followed in discussions, and shows the laudable zeal of the Caliph Mutawakkil in the propagation and vindication of his faith, he sets forth the reasons why people of the tolerated cults do not embrace Islām and why they should embrace it, and because the greater number of the non-Muslim population were Christian, he addresses the Christians more frequently; in the second rank come Jews, Magians, Hindoos, and Dualists, who, however, are attacked more sharply. The order of the chapters is as follows:

(*a*) Different forms of historical facts and common agreement. (*b*) Criteria for the verification of historical facts. (*c*) The Prophet called to the unity of God and to

*The work will be published for the Governors of the John Rylands Library by the Manchester University Press.

what all the prophets have believed. (*d*) Merits of the ways of acting and the prescriptions of the Prophet. (*e*) Miracles of the Prophet which the "People of the Book" have rejected. (*f*) The Prophet foretold events hidden from him, which were realised in his lifetime. (*g*) Prophecies of the Prophet, which were realised after his death. (*h*) The Prophet was an unlettered man, and the Book which God revealed to him is, therefore, a sign of prophetic office. (*i*) The victory won by the Prophet is a sign of prophetic office. (*j*) The disciples of the Prophet and the eye-witnesses of his career were most honest and pious: (1) ascetisicm of the Bakr; (2) asceticism of 'Umar; (3) asceticism of 'Ali; (4) asceticism of 'Umar b. 'Abdul-Azīz, of 'Abdallah b. 'Umar b. Khattāb, and of some other pious Muslims. (*k*) If the Prophet had not appeared the prophecies of the prophets about him and about Ishmael would have been without object. (*l*) Prophecies of the prophets about him: Moses, David, Isaiah, Hosea, Micah, Habakkuk, Zephaniah, Zechariah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Daniel, Christ and His disciples. (*m*) Answer to those who have blamed the prescriptions of Islām. (*n*) Answer to those who are shocked that the Prophet should have innovated and changed some prescriptions of the Torah and the Gospel. (*o*) Answer to those who pretend that no one but the Christ has mentioned the Resurrection. (*p*) Conclusion.

In his biblical quotations, the author refers to the version of a certain "Marcus the Interpreter," of which we are still unable to find any trace in any other book, either Syriac or Arabic.

Apart from the question of an official edition of the Kur'ān being unknown to Christian writers till the second half of the eighth century, the idea gathered from the ancient Christian compositions is in complete agreement with "the theory that Islām is primarily a political adventure;"* and as in the Semitic mind political adventures cannot succeed without some "persuasions" to heaven, and "dissuasions" from hell, it is the merit of the first Caliphs to have so skilfully handled, after their master

*D. S. Margoliouth, in *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, VIII, 879.

and in imitation of "the people of the Book," the spiritual instrument which was easy and handy and which brought them such wonderful results. (Ist der Islām) "Keineswegs als ein Religionssystem ins Leben getreten, sondern als ein Versuch sozialistischer Art, gewissen überhandnehmenden irdischen Miss-ständen entgegenzutreten."*

Conclusion

From all the above facts and documents, any impartial critic, interested in the Kur'ānic literature of the Muslim world, can draw his own conclusions. If we may express our opinion, we would be tempted to say:

(1) If all signs do not mislead us, very few oracular sentences, if any, were written in the time of the Prophet. The kind of life that he led, and the rudimentary character of reading and writing in that part of the world in which he appeared, are sufficient witnesses in favour of this view. Our ignorance of the Arabic language in that early period of its evolution is such that we cannot even know with certainty whether it had any writing of its own in Maccah and Madīnah. If a kind of writing existed in these two localities, it must have been something very similar to the Estrangelo or the Hebraic characters. Ibn Khaldūn† informs us that the people of Tāif and Kuraish learnt the "*art of writing*" from the Christians of the town of Hīrah, and the first Kuraishite who learned it was Sufyān b. Umayyah.‡ Further, Hirschfeld§ has already noted that "The Qoran, the text-book of Islām is in reality nothing but a counterfeit of the Bible;" this verdict applies in a more accentuated manner to the compilation of the Kur'ān. No disciple of Moses or of Christ wrote the respective oracles of these two religious leaders in their lifetime, and probably no such disciple did so in the case of the Prophet. A man did not become an acknowledged prophet in a short time; years elapsed before his teaching was considered worth preserving on parchment. Lam-

*H. Grimme, *Mohammed*, I., Münster, p. 14; München, p. 50.

†*Mukaddimah*, p. 365 (edit. Beirūt).

‡We cannot enter into details on this subject which is a digression from the Kur'ānic theme.

§*New researches into the composition and exegesis of the Qorān*, p. 11.

mens* has observed, "Le Prophète s'était fait intimer par Allah (Qoran, lxxv. 16–17) l'ordre de ne pas se presser pour éditer le Qoran, comme recueil séparé. La précaution était prudente, étant donné le caractère inconsistant de certaines révélations."

(2) Some years after the Prophet's death many of his companions, seeing that his cause was really flourishing and gathering considerable momentum by means of able generals, vied in writing down, each one in his own sphere, the oracles of their master. This work gave them prestige, and sometimes high posts which they could scarcely have obtained otherwise; in this series is to be included the compilation of Ubayy b. Ka'b, Ibn Mas'ūd, 'Uthmān b. 'Affān, and probably 'Ali b. Abi Talib. When 'Uthmān obtained the Caliphate, his version was naturally given a royal sanction, to the detriment of the three other recensions. The story of the Kuraishite scribes who were told by 'Uthmān to write down the Revelation in the dialect of Kuraish, ought to be discarded as half legendary. We all know how ill adapted was the Arabic writing even of the eighth century to express all the phonetic niceties of the new philological schools; it is highly improbable, therefore, that it could express them in the first years of the Hijrah. Moreover, a very legitimate doubt can be entertained about the literary proficiency of all the collectors mentioned in the tardy hadīth of the ninth century. Most of them were more tribal chieftains than men of literature, and probably very few of them could even read or write; for this reason the greater part of their work must have been accomplished by some skilled Christian or Jewish amanuensis, converted to Islām.

(3) This last work of Companions and Helpers does not seem to have been put into book form by 'Uthmān, but was written on rolls of parchment, on *suhufs*, and it remained in that state till the time of Abdul-Mālik and Hajjāj ibn Yūsuf. At this time, being more familiar with writing by their intercourse with the Jews and Christians of the enlightened capital of Syria, and feeling

Fātima et les filles de Mahomet, p. 113.

more acutely the necessity of competing on even terms with them, the Caliph and his powerful lieutenant, gave to those rolls the character and the continuity of a book, and very possibly, added new material from some oral reciters of the Prophet's oracular sentences. At any rate, the incident of both Hajjāj and 'Uthmān writing copies of the Kur'ān and sending them to the head-provinces is very curious. We will conclude the first chapter of this enquiry with the following sentences by Professor Casanova* to which we fully adhere:

"Mais les fragments d'os, de palmier, etc., sur lesquels étaient écrits, de la main des secrétaires, les versets dictés par le Prophète, et qui avaient servi à la première recension, sous Aboû Bakr, que sont-ils devenus? Je me refuse à croire qu'ils auraient été détruits. Quel extraordinaire sacrilège! Comment aurait-on pu traiter ainsi ces témoins les plus directs de la révélation. Enfin s'ils avaient existé, comment expliquer la crainte que 'Oumar et Aboû Bakr témoignèrent de voir le Coran disparaître par la mort des récitateurs? S'ils n'avaient pas existé, tous les passages si nombreux où le Coran est désigné (par le mot *Kitāb*) auraient été introduits après coup! Voilà bien des contradictions inhérentes au récit traditionnel, et toutes se résolvent par la conclusion que j'adopte: Le Coran a été mis, par écrit, pour la première fois par les soins d'al Hajjāj qui probablement s'appuyait sur la légende d'un prototype dû à 'Outhmân. Il est possible qu'il y ait eu des transcriptions antérieures, mais sans caractère officiel, et par conséquent sans unité."

ALPHONSE MINGANA.

*Ibid., pp. 141–142.

THE NATIVE PRESS OF EGYPT

(The following is the summary of an article which appeared in *The Egyptian Mail*.—ED.)

"READERS of foreign newspapers in this country read the comments made by the native organs on current events, but in all probability know very little about them. I therefore propose to give them very short notices of these newspapers:

"*Al-Ahram* is one of the oldest Arabic newspapers in Egypt, having been in existence for forty-one years. It was founded by the late Selim Takla Bey, a Syrian who was teacher of Arabic in Beirut before he came to Egypt, and not long after was joined by his brother Bishara Pasha. At first, *Al-Ahram* was published in Alexandria, but was, not many years ago, transferred to Cairo. On the death of Selim, his brother Bishara took sole charge of the paper, and on the death of the latter his son now owns it.

"On its appearance *Al-Ahram's* sympathies were both French and Turkish, but of late years it has adopted a policy more in keeping with the altered conditions of the country. It has a special telegraph service, the news being sent it by the Havas Agency. It is in six large pages of seven columns, and is a morning paper in the right sense of the word, as it goes to press after 1 a.m.

"The second oldest paper is perhaps *Al-Mokattam* which has been in existence about thirty years. It was founded by Messrs. Yacoub Sarruf, Faris Nimr and Shahin Macarius Bey, the two former were teachers in the American College in Beirut before they adopted Egypt as their home. For some years before, they edited *Al-Muktataf*, a scientific review of a high order, which is still in existence.

"When they began publishing *Al-Mokattam* they divided their work in the following manner: Dr. Nimr took complete charge of the political organ and Dr. Sarruf of the scientific, a division of labour which the readers of their periodicals have approved and appreciated.

"From its appearance till this day *Al-Mokattam* has been in favour of the British occupation. It was the first Arabic paper to receive special regular telegrams from abroad, its correspondent being one of the members of the editorial of the *Daily Mail*. It is in eight pages of six columns, and is said to have a large circulation. Like its competitor *Al-Ahram*, it goes to press after 1 a.m.

"The above two newspapers represent the high-water mark of Arabic journalism in Egypt, and do credit to their proprietors, editors and managers, and compare very favourably with the high-class newspapers of Europe. Needless to say that their staffs are Syrian.

"*Al-Mahrussa* is another old newspaper having been brought out about the same time as *Al-Ahram*, but it has changed hands more than once. Its present proprietor is Mr. Elias Ziadé, a Syrian who had no experience of journalism before buying *Al-Mahrussa*. It represents no special political ideas, and is not distinguished for any particular feature. It publishes from time to time an article of interest on some local subject, and although it is called a morning newspaper it is really published late in the afternoon.

"Mr. Ziadé does not contribute any articles to his paper, so far as his readers are aware, and he employs a number of second-rate writers on the editorial staff.

"*Al-Akhbar* is a recent periodical, having been brought out in 1896. It is owned by Sheikh Yussef El-Khazin, a Maronite of Mount Lebanon, Syria, and a scholar of considerable literary abilities, who contributes an article every day and leaves the editorship of his paper to a young Copt who has had long experience in journalism. At one time *Al-Akhbar* was the most brightly written Arabic newspaper, and its trenchant criticism and sarcasm have brought it into trouble more than once. The

fact of the editor being a Copt explains the interest it takes in Coptic affairs and particularly in the recent movement for reform.

"Although it is said to be a morning paper it is printed late in the afternoon.

"Besides the above characteristics, *Al-Akhbar* is distinguished by being printed on coloured paper, and publishing a photograph on its first page of some person of interest.

"*Al-Afkar* has tried to replace *Al-Shaab* which was the organ of the defunct Nationalist party but now adopts a moderate tone. It is owned by a Moslem named Abdul Einein Badr, and edited by a former member of *Al-Shaab*. Its feature is an article on some local topic, and it is now the only Moslem paper in Cairo, *Al-Shaab* and *Al-Moayad* having ceased to exist for some time.

"*Misr* is one of the two Coptic organs which watch over the interests of the Coptic community. It was founded twenty years ago by Tadrus Bey Shenuda El-Mangabady, former official of the Mudiria of Assiut. The long experience the proprietor had of life in the provinces, and the fact that he is the founder of the Coptic Reform Society give his paper particular importance.

"Tadrus Bey writes but little, and is assisted by a staff of native writers, who carry out his instructions.

"*Misr*, owing to the attitude of its proprietor towards the Patriarchate and the clergy, is not allowed within the precincts of the seats of the Patriarch and of the bishops in the provinces, but the enlightened part of the community, in sympathy with his movement for the control of the revenues of the monasteries by the Maglis Milli, and for raising the standard of the clergy, support his organ.

"*Al-Watan* is the other organ of the Copts and is owned by Gindi Bey Ibrahim, former bailiff of the native court. Twenty years ago Gindi Bey bought *Al-Watan* from its founder, the late Mikhail Abdul Said, a pioneer of journalism in Egypt and an Arabic scholar of the greatest ability, for £. E. 100.

"The proprietor of *Al-Watan* is said not to write, but directs the policy of his paper and inspires articles to the members of the editorial staff. *Al-Watan* is reputed to be the organ of the Coptic Patriarchate the acts of which it does its best to explain and defend. While *Misr* is the organ of the Reform Party, *Al-Watan* is that of the Conservatives and the clergy.

"*Al-Watan* has another specialty: exposing the sins and delinquencies of the omdas and sheikhs in the provinces, and hardly a number of it is free from some act of one of these officials.

"It is the only Arabic paper in the country which takes pains over the headlines of its articles, which are almost in double lines, the last words of both of which are in rhyme. In fact this is a distinguishing feature of *Al-Watan* in which no other Arabic periodical shares.

"*Al-Watan* is also the only Arabic paper which from time to time publishes a eulogy of itself and its editor.

"Besides the above matters these two Coptic papers are not distinguished by any particular journalistic feature which gives them special importance and induces the other Arabic-speaking races in the country to read them, as is the case with *Al-Ahram* and *Al-Mokattam* for instance.

"The members of the editorial staffs of these two organs are almost exclusively Copts.

"*Al-Bassir* is the oldest Arabic paper in Alexandria, and is owned and edited by Rashid Schemail Bey, a Syrian litterateur, who before founding *Al-Bassir*, was the Cairo correspondent of *Al-Ahram* for many years. It is the best informed organ in Alexandria—indeed in the whole country, on commercial and financial matters, particularly those relative to the cotton and the Bourse, and it is on this account that it is very largely read. Its articles on political questions, and those connected with the internal affairs of the country, are consequently not as frequent as those dealing with commerce.

"*Wadinnil* is a recently founded paper. It was founded seven years ago by Mohammed Effendi El-Kalza, former official of the Government, who edits it. Notwithstand-

ing its youth, this organ has attained a prominent position not only in Alexandria but in the whole country. It is the only paper in Alexandria now printed in six pages, while before the war the number of its pages was eight.

"*Wadinnil* has no particular feature to distinguish it, but its articles, particularly those on the internal affairs of the country, are well written.

"*Al-Ahaly* is a still more recent paper, having been in existence six years. The editorial chair is occupied by Abdul Kader Effendi Hanna, a former member of the Alexandria bar, and an able writer. It is said to have been founded to support the ex-Premier, Mohammed Said Pasha, whose organ it was, and in whose days it attained an influential position. Since the downfall of that premier *Al-Ahaly* has lost its former position, but it is doing all it can to compete with the other Moslem paper of Alexandria.

"Its articles on purely local affairs are well thought out, but such articles are few and far between. It has no particular feature to distinguish it.

"The above are all the daily newspapers in the country, and as the writer has simply given facts known to their own readers, and has not said anything in malice, he hopes the proprietors and editors of these papers will not take his words amiss. His object was merely to enlighten the readers of *The Egyptian Mail* on the importance and standing of the organs, extracts from the comments of which on current topics, it publishes every day."

QUESTION DRAWER

What is the Qur'ānic use of the word *'āya* and its etymology? The point of the question lies in its bearing on the doctrine of abrogation as usually understood. The editors of the new Qadiani translation of the Qur'ān have a long note on Sūra II (*Sūratu-l-Baqara*), verse 100, or 105, or 107, 'Whatever *āya* we abrogate or cause to be forgotten, we bring one better than it, or like it.' They say the passage has no reference to other verses in the Qur'ān, and declare that people who maintain that it does are only following the lead of "obscure authors who enjoy no credit for reliability or accuracy." It is "want of deep study" that is responsible for the failure to recognize that "no part of the Qur'an has become inoperative." The facts are, they continue, that the "jealousy" of the People of the Book for the new revelation is the context of this verse, and its "true meaning is that a portion of the previous law has been replaced by a better one in the Holy Qur'an, and certain commandments which were lost have been conserved in the same book." (The Holy Qur'an with English translation, Qadian, 1915, Part I, p. 89.)

L. B. J.

I know no evidence that the word *'āya*, or any of its plurals, can refer to our Scriptures; such is certainly not Muslim usage. When the word is used absolutely with the article it is always taken as referring to the verses of the Qur'ān; the Qur'ān commentator, Rāzī says, *li'annahu huwa-l-ma'hūd 'indanā*. It is derived either from the root 'YY or 'WY and is probably the same as the Hebrew *'ôth*, "sign." Its fundamental meaning is said, by the native lexicographers, to be "sign" (*'alāma*) and various derived meanings are, "miracle," "wonder," "warning," "message," "form" or "figure," "company," "verse" of the Qur'ān. Of these undoubtedly the two most common meanings are "sign, miracle" and "verse" of the Qur'ān, and the second is a special application of the first; the whole Qur'ān being regarded as a *mu'jiza* or "evidentiary miracle," its constituent parts are so also. The word is therefore applied to each of those sections of the Qur'ān closing in pause (*waqf*) and with the *saj'* rhyme. But it can also be applied to every portion of the Qur'ān giving a rule or decision (*hukm*) even if it is a Sūra or a number of sections (*faṣl*) or a single section. See Lane's *Lexicon*, p. 135, the *Lisān* Part XVIII, pp. 65 ff., *Mufradāt* of Rāghib al-Isfahānī, pp. 32 f.

The Qadiani translation of the verse in the Question is correct though some Muslim exegetes would prefer to render it, "If we abrogate, *or* if we were to abrogate, any verse . . . ," urging that the *mā* involves the *'in* of possibility and does not involve a statement that the verses really have been abrogated. Such was the position of Fakhr ad-Dīnar-Rāzī and he, in consequence, preferred to use other verses in proof of Abrogation. This does not mean that he doubted that some verses of the Qur'ān abrogated others; that is an absolute Agreement (*ijmā'*) of Islām and to doubt it would be heresy if not unbelief. On that point the Qadiani translators have not been ingenuous. They have used phrases to suggest that the doctrine of

Abrogation is especially held by "translators," while it is really that of all orthodox Islām. Their course would have been straightforward if they had admitted that such had been the doctrine of Islām down to their time and then had urged that the doctrine was false (a) as against the context of the passages quoted in its support, (b) as violating the unity and trustworthiness of the Qur'ān and (c) as denying the promised protection of the Qur'ān by Allāh. Further, they have suggested that those who hold the doctrine of Abrogation rely on "obscure authors who enjoy no credit for reliability and accuracy."

I shall take up this last point first, and I reply that I have been unable to find the extant works of any author who denies the doctrine that one part of the Qur'ān has been abrogated by another, and that, on the other hand, such has been the consistent Agreement of Islām from the first.

I. In the great commentary of Ṭabarī, who died A.H. 310, there is (vol. i, pp. 358 ff.) a mass of separate traditions bearing on the meaning of the passage quoted and giving the earliest exegetical tradition on it, a tradition going back to the Companions; but there is not a word that any one ever held that it does not teach abrogation of Qur'ān by Qur'ān.

II. The book, *An-nāsikh wal-mansūkh* of Hibatu-llāh b. Salāma, who died in A.H. 410, is one of the fundamental treatises on Abrogation (*naskh*). It accepts absolutely and in full detail the abrogation of Qur'ān by Qur'ān; but adds (p. 26 of ed. of Cairo 1315) that some deny it "and these are a people who have turned away from the right and by their falsehood have been driven back from Allāh."

III. In the fundamental treatise on *'Ilm al-'uṣūl* by the Imām al-Ḥaramain (died A.H. 478), called *al-Waraqāt*), there is, of course, a treatment of *naskh* of the Qur'ān (pp. 119 ff. of ed. of Cairo 1306) but no suggestion that it is not accepted by all.

IV. In the Qur'ān commentary of Zamakhsharī (died A.H. 538) on the passage in question (ed. of Nassau Lees, i, p. 96) *naskh* of the Qur'ān is simply taken for granted without mention of any objectors. As Zamakhsharī was a Mu'tazilite and did not accept the doctrine that the Qur'ān is eternal and uncreated, he had not to face the difficulty before orthodox Islām of explaining how parts of its text could be annulled.

V. In the Qur'ān commentary of Fakhr ad-Dīn ar-Rāzī (died A.H. 606) is the most elaborate discussion of the passage that I have found. It extends from p. 441 to p. 447 of vol. i of ed. of Cairo 1307 and is divided into nine *masā'il*. These deal: (i) with the philological meaning of the word *naskh;* (ii) with variant readings in the passage; (iii) with its conditional force; (iv) with the exact meaning and application of *naskh* in canon law; (v) with the possibility by reason (*'aql*) and the actuality by tradition (*sam'*) of the occurrence of *naskh* of preceding Scriptures and laws, *e.g.*, the change of the Qibla from Jerusalem to the Ka'ba and of fasting from the Jewish Feast of Atonement (the Day of *'Āshūrā'*) to Ramadān; (vi) with *naskh* in the Qur'ān itself; (vii) the threefold division of *naskh* into (a) *naskh* of the command only (*hukm*) while the passage (*talāwa, khalt, rasm*) remains in the Qur'ān text, (b) *naskh* of the passage in the text while it survives as command and (c) *naskh* of both passage and command; (viii) with exegesis of the verse in question; (ix) with refutation of the Mu'tazilite contention that the occurrence of *naskh* in the Qur'ān shows that it was created. Under (vi) the position is laid down that by the Agree-

ment (*ijmā'* of the Muslim people *naskh* applies to the Qur'ān, *i.e.*, that passages now in the Qur'ān text or once in the Qur'ān text have been abrogated. Rāzī gives one name on the other side, a certain Abū Muslim 'Amr b. Yaḥyà al-Iṣfahānī of whom I know no more. His contentions were: (i) That the abrogated 'āyāt were laws in the preceding Scriptures; (ii) That *naskh* in this verse means the transferring (*naql*) of Scripture from the Preserved Tablet and the conveying (*tahwīl*) of it to the Books, as you say, *nasakhtu-l-kitāb*, "I transcribed the book"; (iii) That this verse does not say that *naskh* actually occurs but only that if it were to occur something better would be given in place of the passage abrogated.

In the middle of the next page (p. 445) Rāzī repeats that all the interpreters of the Qur'ān except this Abū Muslim consider that *'āya* in this verse is meant of a verse in the Qur'ān, but that he took it as meaning the Tawrāt and Injīl. He was, therefore, the original and apparently solitary upholder of the Aḥmadīya position.

VI. There is a similarly extended discussion of the whole subject of Abrogation, as affecting the bases of canon law, in the *Sharḥ tanqīḥ al-fuṣūl fi-l-'usūl* of Aḥmad b. Idrīs al-Qarāḥī who died A.H. 684. It is the xivth Bāb and occupies pp. 132–140 in ed. of Cairo, 1306. Again, Abū Muslim is the only opponent of the Agreement. Further, we learn that Qur'ān may be abrogated not only by Qur'ān but by Sunna, if the Sunna is *mutawātira*, *i.e.*, handed down on so many unimpeachable lines that disbelief in it is impossible, and vice versa. Such Sunna may be abrogated, too, by its like. So completely has the idea of abrogation taken possession of the science of the bases (*'usūl*) of canon law.

VII. The Qur'ān commentary of Baiḍāwī, who died A.H. 685, holds the same position. It is modelled, more or less, on that of Zamakhsharī, but reduced to orthodoxy. Thus it is shown, on the one hand, that Abrogation meets the varying needs of different times and situations—what is of advantage at one time may be for hurt at another—and, on the other, that the changing and irregularity so produced are derived from the accidental things to which the idea existing in the eternal essence is joined. That means a distinction between the eternal and the uncreated Word (*Kalām*) of Allāh and its earthly manifestation in the Qur'ān under the conditions of the created and changing world. That distinction, however, all orthodox Islām makes, to one degree or another, and I would venture to refer on it to pp. 335 f. of my "Development of Muslim Theology," where is given a translation of the Creed of al-Faḍālī, an Ash'arite of the straitest orthodoxy.

VIII. In the *Itqān fī 'ulūm al-Qur'ān* of as-Suyūṭī (died A.H. 911) we have one of the most valuable books which Islam has produced for the study of the Qur'ānic sciences, and there is an excellent edition of it in the Bibliotheca Indica. On p. 156 *'āya* is defined and on pp. 514–529 (*Nau'* xlvii) there is a full treatment of *naskh*. Its basis is Agreement, and Qur'ān can be abrogated, not only by Qur'ān, but also by Sunna, provided that the Sunna is based on a divine revelation, a so-called *ḥadīth qudsī* and is not simply the result of individual application in thought to reach a judgment (*ijtihād*), for by that only "opinion" (*ẓann*) is reached and not certainty. Of course, when the respective *Ijtihād's* of all properly qualified Muslims fall together we have Agreement (*ijmā'*) and that, as said above, is the basis for the acceptance of *naskh*. Further, Suyūṭi says (p. 515), that it is only as a metaphor that the term

naskh can be applied to the changes produced by Islām in Jewish and Christian law (*wa'innamā yusammà hādhā naskh*^{an} *tajawwuz*^{an}).

IX. The last authority I shall cite is the great "Dictionary of technical terms used in the sciences of the Musulmans," a modern compilation published in the Bibliotheca Indica in 1862. *Naskh* is treated there on pp. 1377–1380 as in the texts above.

It would be easy to cite many more authorities, both Qur'ān commentaries and separate discussions of *naskh;* but what has now been given will probably be sufficient to show that the Āḥmadīya position is an innovation (*bid'a*) in Islam of the gravest kind, and that their commentary, quoted above, contains very serious misstatements. It would be perfectly open for them to maintain, by historical investigation and by examination of the context of the different Qur'ān passages, that the doctrine of *naskh* is false. But it may be well to say here that it is accepted, so far as I know, by all modern students of Islam in the West. These are of all schools and have no theological bias one way or the other; but accept it as an historical necessity. It is needless to quote cases.

But in Dr. Wherry's note on the Qur'anic passage in question (his edition of Sale's translation, vol. i, pp. 327 ff.) there are, as the Qadiani translators truly say, some grave misunderstandings as to the meaning and scope of *naskh.* He extends it much too far and thinks of it as affecting theological doctrine and statements of fact, while it applies only to commands, prohibitions and such statements as involve these. Nor can it apply to theology at all. From the Muslim point of view the theology (*kalām*) revealed to Adam and thereafter to each prophet in turn, and finally to Muhammad, was one and the same. The differences came in the canon law (*fiqh*), the rites, ceremonies, usages, commands and prohibitions generally. These had no eternal validity and could be changed with circumstances and needs. And they were changed, not only from prophet to prophet, but changes could come in the course of the teaching of the same prophet. These last are by *naskh* in the strict sense.

And, further, Dr. Wherry appears not to understand the position of Muslims towards the Christian Scriptures, or, rather their positions, for there is no one which, in Islam, is of faith. The Agreement has fixed the doctrine of Abrogation, but there is no Agreement upon how a Muslim must think of the Bible. Dr. Wherry seems to hold that a Muslim is "bound" to "acknowledge" the Bible "to be the Word of God." We may hold that he must or should, but he does not see it in that way. Positions have been, and are held in Islām varying from what comes very close to accepting it as the Word of God, through regarding it as corrupted or interpolated or mutilated—all in different degrees—to complete rejection as of human origin forged to take the place of the divine Scriptures withdrawn by Allah from unworthy possessors. The subject is far too large to enter upon here in detail. The classical treatment is by Goldziher in the *Zeitschrift* of the German Oriental Society, vol. xxxii, pp. 341–387) and I have dealt with it shortly in Lecture vii of my "Aspects of Islam."

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BOOK REVIEWS

The Eastern Question: an Historical Study in European Diplomacy. By J. A. R. Marriott, M.P., for the City of Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1917. 12/6 net. 456 pages.

Although the Ottomans commenced their invasion of Europe more than a century before the taking of Constantinople, responsible historians show a tendency to make that event the starting-point of the "Eastern Question," *i.e.*, the question how the Turks are to be dispossessed of the territories which they have appropriated, and who is to be installed in their place. For a time there was some chance of the question being settled by the absorption of all Europe in the Ottoman Empire; but that danger disappeared as the seventeenth century reached its close, and since the beginning of the nineteenth the solution of the question has been advancing by leaps and bounds. Nor have we abandoned the hope that the termination of the present war will include the final settlement of the problem.

Mr. Marriott, who is well known as a historian and a publicist, traces the history of the question to its commencement, and owing to his vast knowledge of modern Europe and its affairs, and his great skill as a writer, has produced a most interesting book, which few readers will leave unfinished. It is natural that he should enter more fully into detail the nearer he approaches our time; two-thirds of his space is occupied with the period which commences with Napoleon's activities; one-half with that which commences with the Crimean War. One would gladly have his opinion about that war, which so great a master of foreign politics as the late Lord Salisbury declared to have been so far as Great Britain was concerned a mistake; "England put her money on the wrong horse." Mr. Marriott does not contravene that judgment, but attacks Kinglake for maintaining that the British Cabinet were hoodwinked by Napoleon III. Nevertheless he appears to accept the view that Napoleon III's motives for going to war with Russia were personal and dynastic; if then the action of the British government of the time in supporting him has not been justified by the event, they must have been deceived by some persons or some thing.

The impression left on the mind by this study in European diplomacy is not favourable to the ability of those who have been actively engaged therein. The Berlin Congress of 1878 was the crown of Lord Beaconfield's career as a statesman; his personality, says Mr. Marriott, dominated the Congress, and he won the whole-hearted admiration of Bismarck. Yet his Anglo-Turkish Convention, concluded just before the Congress, was described by Mr. Gladstone as an insane convention; and though this phrase produced a violent retort, a convention which permanently alienated the parties to it, and appears otherwise to have produced little good, was perhaps not entirely unworthy of the epithet. The Treaty of Berlin which was the result of the labours of that Congress, has according to Mr. Marriott's showing been the cause of evils avoided by the Treaty of

San Stefano, which it superseded. What we should infer is doubtless not that the statesmen were incapable, but that the most capable men cannot foretell the future, which, in part, is the result of treaties and the like, in part, of factors which are obscure or wholly unknown.

That in a book which covers so great an area of both space and time there should be some statements which suggest doubts is natural. On p. 38 there is the following note:

"Only to Europeans are the Ottomans known as 'Turks,' a name, among themselves, of contempt."

This—for which the authority of Messrs. Hogarth and Gibbons is quoted—is surprising. Sam Pasha, whose dictionary must be intended for his countrymen, since it is Turkish-Turkish, calls it *Qamus Turki*, and in his article on the word *Turk* calls it the name of a mighty nation celebrated for world-conquering—which should not imply any contempt! In the Egyptian press the name is used with the same frequency and the same signification as in the European. On p. 294 speaking of the first promulgation of the Turkish Constitution the author says:

"Profuse in professions and promises of reform, the Porte, with delicious irony, selected this moment for the promulgation of a brand new and full-blown parliamentary constitution, but it stubbornly refused to allow Europe to superintend the execution of the reforms."

The charge that "Midhat's Constitution" was a device to defeat the Conference of the Powers about to assemble in Constantinople has been met by the statement of Sir Henry Elliot, then ambassador, that the project of the Constitution had been put before him twelve months before there was any question of a conference. A similar judgment is passed on the revived Constitution of 1908, p. 391:

"The revival of the constitution was little more than an ingenious device for appeasing Liberal sentiment abroad, while furnishing a pretext for the abrogation of the historic rights of the Christian nationalities at home."

The sole record of that event from the inside which we appear to possess is the Memoirs of Nyazi, put into English by Mr. E. F. Knight in his book "The Awakening of Turkey." Much as we regret the results of the reintroduction of the Constitution, that work by no means suggests that they were contemplated by those who brought it about. In revolutions it is unfortunately by no means only the first step which costs. The later steps are likely to increase in costliness.

Mr. Marriott naturally finds the primary and most essential factor in the problem (the Eastern Question) the presence, embedded in the living flesh of Europe, of an alien substance. "That substance is the Ottoman Turk, akin to the European family neither in creed, in race, in language, in social customs, nor in political aptitudes and traditions." The fact is, as Mr. Marriott's work amply demonstrates, that the Turk has never lacked European allies against other European powers; his presence may have been productive of disorders, but disorders preceded his arrival, and for many which followed it he was not responsible. Queen Elizabeth regarded him as her natural ally against the idolaters; Pope Pius II thought that *pauxillum aquae* "a little drop of baptismal water" would be sufficient to transform Mohammed II into the greatest of Christian potentates, who would help him to bring the Greek Christians to order.

Mr. Marriott has traced the rise and the fortunes of the Balkan states with great lucidity and sympathy, and greatly facilitated our

understanding of the part which each has played in the present war. His work should count as the standard treatise on its subject not alone in this country.

D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.

Turkey and the War. By Vladimir Jabotinsky. London, T. Fisher Unwin, 1917. 6/– net. 264 pages.

This work from the point of view of quantity is highly priced; for it cannot contain much more than 30,000 words, being loosely printed, and having an unusual number of blank pages. The author maintains that "the present war owes its birth directly and beyond doubt to the problem of the Near and Middle East," and since the problem which the war is to solve is the partition of the Ottoman Empire, he states how it should be divided. He pleads that Germany must not be left out in the partition after the war has ended with a victory for the Allies, but should be allowed special commercial privileges in Anatolia, the only country which is to remain Turkish. Since he assigns Constantinople and the Dardanelles to Russia, it might be thought that Russia would require access by land to the present Turkish capital; but he replies that "the Black Sea fleet will be equal to the task of connecting the little colony to the great metropolis" (Petrograd?). In general his division of the Ottoman Empire does not differ from that which many persons suppose the Entente Powers to have in view. The writer appears to discuss these problems with some personal acquaintance with Eastern countries. Since the war had started some months before Turkey took any part therein, his theory that the Eastern Question is its direct cause requires some modification. Frederick the Great admitted that he made war *pour faire parler de moi;* and this mighty motive is sufficient to explain the action of his successor.

Oxford, England. D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.

Turkey, Greece and the Great Powers: A Study in Friendship and Hate. By G. F. Abbott. With maps. London: Robert Scott, Paternoster Row. Pp. 384. 7/6 net. 1916.

The author of this interesting volume is a Cambridge prizeman who went to Macedonia for investigation into the folklore of that country in 1900; he was special correspondent for the press in southeastern Europe and in India; more recently he had experience in the Tripoli hinterland. The book consists of two parts; the first of which deals with Turkey and the great powers in their diplomatic relations; the second part is the story, not yet complete, of Greece. The author's conclusion may or may not be justified by the close of events. "The Allies found King Constantine a hero in the eyes of his subjects; they have made him a martyr. Every insult that has been inflicted upon him has added a new ray to the halo which already surrounded his head. The Powers may expel him from the throne of Greece, as they expelled Otho: no human power can now expel him from her heart. It may be stated, not as a rhetorical flourish, but as a demonstrated fact, that the most effective propagandist the Kaiser has had in Greece has been the Allied Fleet. A policy of terrorism is a mistaken policy always, and never more egregiously mistaken than when applied to a sensitive and high-spirited people." In the earlier chapters we learn how the annals of European diplomacy in Turkey reek with "Bakhshesh," and also to what humiliations the arrogant spirit of the Turk compelled Christian ambassadors. He says: "Essentially, Frenchmen, Englishmen, Russians

and Germans might all be dogs; but there are degrees of caninity." To trace these subtle differentiations to their historic sources, and to show their bearing upon the present European situation is the author's task. He gives in order the relations of France with Turkey, or Russia, of England (he means Great Britain) and the Germanic Powers. Although we may not agree with all his conclusions there are references to sources on nearly every page. The author's style is very readable and he is fond of piquant narratives. One finishes the volume by concluding that in this careful study of diplomatic relations no pot can call the kettle black.

We miss, however, any sort of preface and a chronological table of events and the index was hurriedly put together.

S. M. ZWEMER.

A Historical Geography of the British Dependencies. Vol. VII. India. Part I. History to the End of the East India Company. By P. E. Roberts. Oxford University Press (415 pages). 6/6d.

It is not quite easy to say what should be meant by a historical geography. It may perhaps best be defined as a geographical description, each feature of which is illuminated and elucidated by history, so enabling the reader to understand how foregoing events and persons have helped to make the land, its features and conditions, what they have been at different stages of its history, and now are. One of the best examples of this is Sir George Adam Smith's "Historical Geography of Palestine." To carry out such a work successfully demands a high degree of knowledge, backed by personal experience and scientific imagination. The writer of such a work for India has yet to appear. In this particular volume we have a useful sketch of the history of India as an introduction to its geography. But the sketch might serve equally well for general reading; in fact, the execution of its illustrative maps is rather a disappointing feature. The history, as such, is well and clearly told within its limits, and the chief issues and personalities are thoughtfully and impartially discussed, so that it forms a useful manual for the general reader or teacher.

H. U. WEITBRECHT STANTON.

An Official Guide to Eastern Asia. Compiled by The Imperial Japanese Government Railways. Tokyo. Vol. I, Manchuria and Chosen, pp. 448, 1913. Yen 7. Vol. II, S. W. Japan, pp. 58, 1914, Yen 5. Vol. III, N. E. Japan, pp. 497, 1914. Yen 5. Vol. IV, China, pp. 538, 1915. Yen 7.

These four volumes form a series to be completed by a fifth and last volume of the series which will be on the East Indies. As this covers a part of the world almost wholly Moslem and well-nigh unknown to most readers, the last volume of the series will be of the greatest interest, but in every respect the maps, numerous illustrations and general get-up of these guide books are equal, if not superior, to the familiar Baedeker. It must have been no easy task to set up these books in type into good English with innumerable words in Japanese, Korean, Russian, and Chinese interspersed. Tables of statistics are introduced, fares and charges set forth in detail, routes, hotels, means of communication, and articles on industries and products as well as items which concern themselves with the inhabitants of the various districts. The history, customs, and languages are dealt with, and complete sets of maps and towns are provided, while in each case the book closes with vocabularies and phrases in English,

Russian, Chinese, and Japanese and an index. We wish the Japanese would prepare a guide book equally correct and compact for Western Asia. There is nothing of the kind for the traveller who visits Persia, Turkey and Arabia.

From Constantinople to the Home of Omar Khayyam. By Prof. A. V. Williams Jackson. (Columbia University, U. S. A.) Published by the Macmillan Company, New York. Pp. 302. 1911.

Professor A. V. Williams Jackson in this book gives an account of "Travel in Transcaucasia and Northern Persia for Historic and Literary Research." Though the book appeared so long ago as 1911 it has only recently been sent for review, and readers of THE MOSLEM WORLD who may not already have seen it, will appreciate having their attention drawn to it. Besides being profusely and beautifully illustrated, the work is written in such a charming manner as to carry the reader along and make its perusal a real pleasure. The double purpose of the author—to give an account of his travels and to record the result of his researches—has been most happily accomplished, and the book will undoubtedly remain for long a standard work of reference. A word of criticism may be added on the author's treatment of the question relating to the "City of Tus." Had the work been a mere record of travel this might be allowed to pass, but seeing that the object of the pilgrimage was largely historical research, one cannot but feel that the subject has not been sufficiently considered by the author. Prof. Jackson writes (p. 294), "It is clear that the ruined site of Tus . . . formed part of the borough of Tabaran, an important section of the town in Firdausi's day, when the city covered a large area comprising several thickly populated centres, as we know from oriental geographers of the tenth century, or the period covering the better portion of the poet's life. According to the authority of *Istikhri* and *Ibn Haukal* at that time, as cited in the preceding chapter (p. 267), four boroughs—Radkan, Tabaran, Bazdghur, and Naukan—made up the metropolis of historical Tus."

Now Naukan must be identified with Noghan—lying near the present Mashad, fifteen miles southeast of Tus (see p. 285): "Radkan is represented, in part at least, by the settlement of that name, nearly twenty miles northwest of the historic city (Tus)." That there ever existed a *city of Tus* which stretched thirty-five miles from near Mashad to Radkan is incredible. While Prof. Jackson in speaking of Tus as a metropolis containing four boroughs, may have erred in good company, it might have occurred to one going over the actual ground that there must be a mistake somewhere. When the Arab geographers spoke of Tus as containing four townships, they were speaking of the *district* of Tus, which was one of the districts of Khorasan.* Yakut† called it a "province" (*wilaya*).

All this, however, is a small matter in comparison with the great extent of ground covered by the author. We can most warmly recommend the book to any one who desires to visit the lands spoken of in imagination and return with a store of interesting information and many happy memories.

W. R. W. GARDNER.

*See *Subh al A'sha*, Vol. IV, p. 389 f. Government Press, Cairo, 1914.
†Vol. VIII, p. 327.

Through Russian Central Asia. By Stephen Graham. Pp. 298. $2.25. New York: Macmillan. 1916.

The author has given us an inside view of the great Moslem centres in Asiatic Russia, especially the four great cities of Turkestan, Bokhara, Khiva, Samarkand, and Tashkent. For many years he has lived in Russia and therefore shows a deep sympathy with Russian character, life and culture. It is a new world that is opened up to the reader in these fascinating pages. "We reached Askabad," he says, "the first great city of Turkestan, about eleven o'clock at night, and its platform presented an extraordinary scene. The whole forty-five minutes of our stay it was crowded with all the peoples of Central Asia—Persians, Russians, Afghans, Tekintsi, Bokharese, Khivites, Turkomans—and every one had in his hand, or on his dress, or in his turban roses. The whole long pavement was fragrant with rose odours."

Mr. Graham has a way of describing things which is to be envied. Here is a picture of Islam in Bokhara. "The train entered the Russian Protectorate of Bokhara, and the population changed. From Askabad the natives had special cattle-trucks afforded them, and they sat on planks stretched over trestles; they were Sarts, Bokharese, Jews, Afghans. Into my carriage came two Mohammedan scholars going to Bokhara city. They washed their hands, spread carpets on one side of the carriage, knelt on the other, said their prayers, prostrated themselves. Then they took out a copy of the Koran, and one read to the other in a sonorous and poetical voice all the way to the city—they were Sarts, a very ancient tribe of Aryan extraction, some of the finest looking people of Central Asia, tall, dignified, wrinkled, wearing gorgeous cloaks and snowy turbans. The two in my carriage had, apparently, several wives in another compartment, as they each carried a sheaf of tickets. The women hereabout were very strictly in their *charchafs*. There was no peeping out or peering round the corner, such as one sees in Turkey, but an absolute black blotting out of face and form. When you looked at five or six sitting patiently side by side, each and all in voluminous green cloaks, and where the faces should appear a black mask the colour and appearance of an oven-shelf, you felt a horror as if the gaze had rested on corpses or on the plague-stricken." He does not idealize Islam, admits the backwardness of its civilization, criticises Carlyle's picture of the Prophet as fanciful, and yet he has the true heart of a missionary and sees the best. "If the peoples of the world could be seen as part of a great design of embroidery on the garment of God, it would probably be seen that Mohammedanism at the present moment is part of the beauty of the pattern and the amazing labyrinthine scheme. It is not a rent, not a disfigurement. . . . The Mohammedans, those many millions, are potential Christians, a set of people remaining in error because our missionary enterprise is not sufficient to bring them to the Light."

The whole of the region which he describes from the Caspian Sea to the borders of the Chinese Empire is practically unoccupied by missions. Everywhere he travelled Islam was dominant, not only in the great cities but among the tent dwellers as far as the Siberian border. A large part of the way he tramped on foot and lived very close to the people. "In one village," he writes, "I saw a pitiful sight—almost naked Kirghiz women treading wet mud and manure into stuff for fuel blocks. They looked astonishingly bestial and degraded. You could not feel that they had any soul or stood in any

way above the animals." The book was written before the war broke out but in the appendix the writer expressed his hope for a permanent Anglo-Russian unity that will benefit both Empires and help forward humanity.

The book has a good index but the map is unsatisfactory.

S. M. Z.

The Origin of the Islamic State: Translated from the Arabic "*Kitāb Futūh al-Buldān*" of Al-Baladhuri by P. K. Hitti, Ph.D. New York: Columbia University, Longmans, Green and Co. Price, $4.00.

The hopes of a critical work raised by the first title of this volume are modified when it is realised that it is a straightforward translation of Al-Baladhuri's well-known history with practically no note or comment. As a translation however it is admirable, "Futūh al-Buldān" is one of the best early sources of our knowledge of the beginnings of Islam, and, though subject of course to the revisions of modern criticism, is indispensable to the student. The Arabic text in the translation used is the standard one published half a century ago by De Gooje, and marginal references are given throughout to the page-numbering. Dr. Hitti as a Syrian naturally has great advantages in grappling with the occasional obscurities which intrude in the middle of an otherwise generally clear style, and he is to be complimented also on the excellence of his English. One might desiderate more consistency in the transliteration of proper names. Sometimes the Anglicized form is given with the Arabic in brackets, sometimes just the opposite. Thus in consecutive lines we find: "Heraclius [Hirakl]" and "Hims [Emesa]"; again "Jordan [al-Urdunn]" and "Ma'ab [Moab]." This is our only criticism on a most valuable addition to the none too large collection of translations of leading Arabic works. We may add that the index, always an essential feature, seems full and complete.

R. F. McNeile.

The Life and Religion of Mohammed the Prophet of Arabia. By Rev. F. J. L. Menezes Criest of the Diocese of Mangalore, India. Pp. 194. Published by Sands and Co., London. 1911.

The author in his preface declares that the contents of his book are not original; but are compiled from the best and most trustworthy authors who have written on the subject. He has endeavored to state the "bare facts" of the leading features of Islam, and of the life of its prophet without "partisanship or prejudice."

His aim is to place these facts before the "sixty million of his fellow countrymen who blindly follow Mohammed as the heaven sent prophet, and who adhere to Islam as the one divinely revealed religion and the only way of salvation," that they "may open their eyes, and behold how they are deceived, and consequently take the necessary steps towards finding a better leader and a more certain way of salvation."

He apologizes for having to publish facts which "will not prove pleasant reading to followers and admirers of the prophets" but "utterly disclaims" the intention of offering any insult to him or his followers, "or of vilifying the religion he has taught."

The book is divided into five parts, the first two of which are devoted to the life of Mohammed with a brief survey of the Caliphate. The view adopted in the book is that the prophet was an impostor whose life and actions were influenced by his desire for eminence

amongst men. His preaching of the one true god, denunciation of idolatry, teaching of the equality of man with precepts of charity, forbidding of alcohol and usury justify his claim as a religious teacher. The following sentence is rather misleading:

"The burying of women alive with the *veil* was unknown in Arabia before this horrible custom was introduced later on by Mohammed."

Part three is devoted to a consideration of the Koran and the doctrine and practice of Islam. Part four entitled "The sects of Islam" is a survey of the many divisions in the world of Islam and includes the following definition of Sufiism: it "is a Moslem adaptation of the Vedanta Hindu philosophy allied with the philosophy of Bhuddism together with some doctrines and practices borrowed from the early Christian anchorites."

Part five is a "familiar and friendly talk" addressed to the authors' friends and fellow countrymen, the Mohammedans of India "wherein he re-states his apology stating definitely that Mohammed was an impostor, and urging his readers to forsake the error and falsehood of Islam for the salvation found in the "Holy Roman Catholic religion."

H. E. E. HAYES.

Von Alexandria Nach Khartum eine Nilfahrt Von Wilhelm von Baensch. Pp. 82. **Kairwan und Süd-Tunesien** mit Tripoli. Von Anina von Baensch. Pp. 135. Zurich: Druck und Verlag: Art. Institut Orell Fussli. 1916.

These two illustrated and popular guide-books are of special interest to our readers in the well-known series of this firm. The illustrations are from photographs but the maps, although clear, are not on a sufficient scale to prove really useful. Those who desire to acquaint themselves with the sacred city of Kairwan and Islam in South Tunis and Tripoli will have to look far afield to find a more useful guide. There is a chapter on the Dervish and considerable information regarding conditions before the war.

S. M. Z.

The Most Vital Mission Problem. By Fr. Schwager, S.V.D. Translated by Rev. Agatho Rolf, O.M. Cap. Techny, Ill.: Mission Press, S.V.D. Pp. 136. 1915.

The author is a Roman Catholic and deals with what he calls "the acute present danger of missionary work: namely, the success of Protestant effort." In seven chapters he surveys the entire field of foreign missions and shows the present condition of Protestant work, especially in the Philippines, Japan, Korea, China, French Indo China, Siam, Dutch India, India and British Farther India, and in the Oriental Missions. In Chapter IV he deals with the defects of Protestant mission methods among which he classes liberalism, exaggeration of statistics, laxity of discipline and hasty baptism. Another chapter gives a stimulating account of Protestant methods in awakening missionary zeal. "I do not fear," says the author, "to miss the mark, if I say that the most far-reaching and characteristic manifestation of modern Protestant mission life is the systematic and thorough study of every phase of present actual mission problems." The book makes a strong appeal to Roman Catholic Christians for the study of missions and the consecration of money and life. It ends with the prayer, "Pray ye, therefore, the Lord of the harvest, that He send *laborers* into His vineyard!" In nearly every field of missionary effort and in most departments of the work

Dr. Schwager admits that Protestant missions are gaining the ascendency; the following paragraphs are an interesting picture of missions in the Near East from the Roman Catholic standpoint:

"Syria, the main bulwark of Catholicism for the surrounding territory in Asia, chiefly received its forces and means from France. Since the outbreak of the persecutions in France, the help from there has greatly diminished, and the results are beginning to show. 'The enemies of our religion,' writes Father Mattern, S.J., 'are ruthlessly taking every advantage of our helplessness, and everywhere they are taking up the positions we had to abandon. In thirty of the villages where we had our schools, for instance, the Protestants have to-day partly taken our place.'

"In Constantinople there are several middle schools aided by the Government and of a Catholic character, but just in the Turkish capital we lack a Catholic university and college that could compare with the splendid Robert College to which, of late, there has been added a school of engineering.

"The number of Catholics in Egypt aggregate almost 90,000, with a personnel of 152 priests, 313 Brothers, 878 native and European Sisters, representing quite a powerful force—but a great number of the priests are engaged in the service of European Catholics and others, and those specifically engaged in mission work have not the necessary means to make their work efficient. And so, again, we are compelled to herald the dreary, heart-breaking story—the rich Protestant missions are gaining the ascendency. The schismatic Kopts, of whom about 20,250 came over to Rome, are gradually succumbing to Protestant influence. Entirely to the point is the explanation of the Protestant theologian, Julius Boehmer, who claims that the only reason the Catholic missions are failing, is that they are not provided with the financial aid they needs must have to do their work, and he closes his report with the ominous words: There 'is no wonder that the efficient and numerous Protestant missionaries are driving the Catholic missionaries back farther.' The American Presbyterian Mission alone, the greatest of the Protestant missions in Egypt, has 33,000 Christians (11,400 communicants), among them 200 former Mohammedans. Then, Cairo has two Protestant auxiliary institutes and the Catholics have nothing of like character: the Nile Mission Press, which spreads its literature away into Arabia and Persia; and the other is a school, opened in 1912, for special missionaries to work among the Mohammedans. The English Church mission has 6 stations, with Cairo as central, with 10 missionaries and 13 women missionaries, only for work among Moslems. The Protestant missionaries devote themselves entirely to the Mohammedans. At the conference for Mohammedan missionaries at Lucknow (1911) there were 164 active missionaries and mission Sisters, and the majority of them came from India. In school work and care of the sick, the Catholic and the Protestant missionaries are brought into contact more and more with the Mohammedans. The number of Mohammedan pupils in the Catholic schools of the Orient are several thousand. That there is, however, even one Catholic priest who is engaged solely with the work of converting Mohammedans cannot be stated. Without doubt, there are mission projects of greater importance and more promising than converting the Mohammedans. At all events, this is a good proof of the intensity of Protestant and particularly the Anglo-Saxon mission life, that the Mohammedan mission work is taken in hand by the Protestants with such fiery energy."

S. M. Z.

Arabic Simplified. By Abdul-Fady (A. T. Upson) in collaboration with the Rev. John C. Wilcox, M.A., Author of *Hebrew Simplified*. Parts I–X (Lessons 1–200). With Supplementary Papers (A, B, etc.) for the Student of Hebrew on those points of similarity between Arabic and Hebrew which are met with as the Lessons proceed. Pp. 500. Privately Printed at the Nile Mission Press, Cairo. 1917.

A course of lessons according to the *Interrogative Method* in modern written Arabic. The book bears the evidence on every page of sound scholarship and is a correspondence course which has already become a conspicuous success; 348 pages are devoted to lessons and exercises in etymology and syntax; the remainder of the book consists of a translation of the Arabic Government text-book on syntax and selections from the Egyptian press. The author has shown excellent judgment in the selection of Arabic prose from modern newspapers and scientific books. The type both Arabic and English is very clear and we heartily commend these studies.

S. M. ZWEMER.

A Grammar of the Nupe Language together with a Vocabulary. By A. W. Banfield and J. L. Macintyre. Pp. 186. London, Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. 1915.

We are glad to call attention to this book which is commended by the late Resident of Nupe, H. S. Goldsmith, C.M.G., who writes: "Having been associated with the Nupe Province since the earliest days of British administration, I desire to place on record the unsparing devotion and arduous labours performed by the authors of this book in the interests of the Nupe people, their language, life, and customs. After many years' residence amongst the Nupe people, they have become thoroughly conversant with their habits of thought and have obtained a real insight into the lives of these interesting and intelligent people. Few people have a greater knowledge of Nupe history."

In addition to the grammar, which is in Romanized text, there is a chapter on Nupe literature which throws light on the methods of Moslem propaganda: "For a long time it was thought that the Nupes possessed no literature of their own, until the discovery was made a few years ago that there were in existence in the Nupe country a number of songs written in the Aljemi character, and dating back about one hundred years. This bastard Arabic character called Aljemi is in general use in parts of North Africa, and all over the Western Sudan; and although it is not at all suited to the Nupe language, it has been used as the medium of circulating poems and songs and the Nupes can as truthfully be said to be possessed of literature as the Hausas, who use the same character.

This literature consists almost entirely of religious poems or songs intended to be committed to memory, and embodying the special points in Mohammedanism that the mallams wished to impress upon the then pagan Nupes. Some of these songs contain curious allusions and statements which are certainly not to be found in the Koran, but the Mohammedanism of so many of the Nupes is such a strange mixture of paganism and Islam, that it is not surprising to find that their teachers were themselves in error about many things."

Z.

A Hausa Botanical Vocabulary. By John M. Dalziel, M.B., B.Sc., D.T.M. West African Staff. Price 6/6d. Pp. 118. London: T. Fisher Unwin. 1916.

The aim of this vocabulary is to record the Hausa names of many of the more common plants of Northern Nigeria, giving at the same time the scientific name where known, along with a brief definition of the plant and in many cases an indication of its native use and of the products associated with it.

It will be of assistance to all, especially medical missionaries whose duties involve the acquiring of information regarding native produce, and may serve to suggest to them the lines of further inquiry.

The Romanized colloquial is used throughout and an index of botanical terms is given at the end. Z.

World Statistics of Christian Missions. Containing a Directory of Missionary Societies, a Classified Summary of Statistics, and an Index of Mission Stations throughout the World. By Professor Harlan P. Beach, M.A., D.D., F.R.G.S., and Burton St. John, B.A., B.D. Pp. 148. $2.00 net. Foreign Missions Conference of North America, 25 Madison Avenue, New York City. 1916.

This volume is in succession to the Statistical Atlas of Christian Missions, prepared for the World Missionary Conference, 1910, and to the more inclusive World Atlas of Christian Missions, published in 1911. It brings all the materials in these two volumes up to date, with the exception of the Tables of Missions to the Jews and the maps. This book bases its Station Index references on the maps in the former volumes, and while of high worth used independently, it is doubly valuable to those who have either of the former volumes. By a comparison of the stations mentioned in the very full index with maps of Moslem lands and the districts of India and China where the Moslem population is prominent, the student will be able to construct for himself a map of the occupied and unoccupied sections of the Moslem world. These statistics although not classified for this purpose yet show very clearly the neglect of the problem and the need of workers to occupy pioneer fields such as Afghanistan, Central and West Arabia and portions of North Africa. Z.

Leavening the Levant. By Joseph K. Greene, D.D. Price, $1.50 net. Pp. 353. New York: The Pilgrim Press. 1916.

One who has been fifty-one years in Turkey and has seen the process of leavening the whole lump of Turkish social life and thought by the vital forces of western education and the ministry of friendship through hospitals and relief work, here describes the land and peoples of Turkey. He lays bare political, racial and moral problems involved in the work of evangelisation and also deals with the history of the Armenian massacres, the story of the pioneer missionaries and the development of the thorough and far-reaching educational system from primary schools to colleges and divinity schools established by the American Mission.

Not only did Dr. Greene live within Turkey during the most critical and revolutionary period of its modern history, but he was himself an important factor in that history. This is consequently an intensely interesting book. The author says in his preface that his object is not to write a history of the work of the American Board but to set forth its object in sending forth missionaries, and to indi-

cate the agencies and methods adopted. Dr. Greene lived in the centre of events he describes.

Dr. James L. Barton in his introduction describes the volume as "a trustworthy record and a reliable discussion of what now is, leaving another chapter to be added when the next page of Ottoman history is turned." The book contains three excellent maps and over one hundred pictures, the entire profits of its sale are devoted to Armenian relief.

A. E. Z.

How to Learn a Language (Phonetic Method). By Thomas F. Cummings. New York. 1916. Pp. 98.

To the question, "How to learn a language," this book gives a very practical answer, not by the printed page of abstract grammar or of literature—though that may be a subordinate aid—but first and last, by the ear and by the tongue. In studying Arabic or Chinese, to master the intricacies of vowels and consonants, of high and low pitches, of slides, slurs, glides and stops, of labials, dentals, prepalatals, palatals, nasals, fricatives and trills, it is beside the point to cast the burden of it all upon the eye, as former learners have been inclined to do. Other major principles of Mr. Cummings' "Phonetic Inductive Method" are these: the unit of language is not the letter or even the word, but the sentence; we should take complex sentences at the very start; there must be a nice discrimination as to not only the sound of the individual letter and the general timbre of the voice, but also the peculiar "sentence rhythm, melody, or tune" of the language under study.

The end is such ready use of the native idiom that it shall be automatic; the means are the untiring repetition of "Drill Tables" like those found on pp. 68–98, and the cultivation of the ability to hear everything that goes on about you.

This method, clearly enough expressed in a hundred pages, has already proved signally valuable in the Punjab, in China, in Persia and, with modifications, is the one now being followed so successfully by Canon W. H. T. Gairdner at the Cairo Study Centre for the study of colloquial Arabic.

A. H. H.

L'Ethiopie et les Convoitises Allemandes. By Pierre-Alype. Paris and Nancy: Berger-Levrault. Pp. 300. 7 frs. 50. 1917.

This book has been published at a most opportune time just when the map of Africa is about to be reconstructed. The motive that failed the author in writing this volume is twofold. In 1911, Germany claimed rights on Djibouti; in the occupation of which she saw the possibility of threatening the British power both at Perim and Aden and this in order to put an obstacle in the route to India which she intended to attack by land through Persia and Mesopotamia. Secondly, by ejecting France from Abyssinia, she wanted to attack England in the Cape Colony. "Il faudrait qu'un nouveau traité au sujet de l'Afrique attribuât l'Egypte à la zone d'intérêts de la Grande-Bretagne; le Maroc à celle de la France; *l'Abyssinie à celle de l'Allemagne.*"

This book begins with a description, geographical, economic and ethnographic of this great African Empire. The Abyssinians are a proud race; they belong to the Coptic church and they victoriously resisted the various attempts at Islamisation. Then follows a bibliographical sketch of Menelik and his successor Lizz-Teassu.

The bonds of friendship between Ethiopia and France are deeply rooted. They go back to the beginning of the seventeenth century.

In 1906 we see England, France and Italy unite in order to safeguard the integrity of the Ethiopian Empire.

"L'Abyssinie parait dans toute l'Afrique le seul pays qui soit destiné à garder une complète indépendance; on devra se féliciter de son maintien, la race abyssine méritant, par ses qualités morales et intellectuelles, de garder la direction de ses destinées. La France comme l'Angleterre et l'Italie trouvent la garantie de leurs propres intérêts dans celle de l'indépendance abyssine."

The last 150 pages of the book contain series of treaties and conventions that ruled the relations of the European powers with Ethiopia. "Ces documents, dans leur froide rigidité feront apparître, plus nettement qu'aucune démonstration, le caractère illégitime et insolite des convoitises allemandes."

F. T. DUPRE.

New Life of Mohamed.—The Paris Book Club (11, Rue de Chateaudun) has concluded arrangements with Mr. Henry Piazza, the Paris publisher, to produce an English edition, which will be uniform with the French edition, of the new forthcoming work "The life of Mohamed, Prophet of Allah," text and illustrations in colours by the famous Oriental painter, E. Dinet. The English edition will be published exactly at the same time as the French edition, about the end of October next. The work will comprise thirty-five coloured plates with twelve decorative pages with text in colours and gold. The issue will be a limited one, 125 copies on imperial Japanese vellum at £18. This work is dedicated to the memory of the valiant Moslem soldiers of France and England who, in the sacred cause of right, justice, and humanity, have piously sacrificed their lives in the great war of the nations.

Maxims and Reflections. Translated from the Persian by S. Khuda Bukhsh. London: J. M. Dent & Sons, Ltd. Pp. 86. 3/6 net. 1916.

The author is well-known from his earlier books, *Islamic Civilisation, Essays: Indian and Islamic*, etc., etc. The manuscript from which the translation is made came to his hands by accident at an old book-stall. The author is unknown. The material is, however, modern and echoes Western writers, including quotations from Tennyson and Swinburne, Pushkin and Gissing. Two of these reflections show the spirit of modernism and that of the Persian Mystic: "Dost thou go Mekka to seek thy God, to atone for thy sins? Fool! Dost thou travel so far to seek Him who is nearer to thee than thy shadow? Dost thou undertake so long a journey for that which lieth within thyself? Would'st thou find God? Search thine own heart. For either He or *Shaitan* dwelleth there." "O Prophet of God!" said an inquiring woman, "hast thou not taught that God loveth human beings more than a woman loveth her new-born babe? Then, pray explain: How can He condemn human beings to the everlasting torture of *Genenna?*" The messenger of God sat speechless, tears trickled down his cheeks, no answer left his lips. And we—we, with our boasted knowledge and light—what explanation can we offer of those hideous exhibitions of lust, rapine, and destruction which daily and hourly disgrace and desecrate the fairest realms of Civilisation, and convert this beautiful Earth of ours into the veriest Hell? Should we say with the philosopher: Whatever is, is right? Or, with the poet, should we look eagerly forward to that glowing consummation when Good will be the final goal of Ill?"

Z.

NOTES ON CURRENT TOPICS

Slavery in German East Africa

ACCORDING to the *Sudan Times* the Anti-Slavery and Aborigines Protection Society has issued an appeal to the Secretary of State for the Colonies to declare by Proclamation the freedom of the 185,000 slaves in the territory known till recently as the German East African Protectorate. The publication of the appeal has been sanctioned by the Colonial Office.

It shows that a resolution was submitted to the German Reichstag on March 19, 1914, asking that the complete emancipation of these slaves should take place by January 1, 1920. The existence of the system of forced labour had been admitted by Dr. Solf, German Colonial Secretary. But the resolution was resisted because the slaves were "domestic slaves," because "if a slave could establish ill-treatment he thereby secured his liberty," and because of the cost of compensating the owners.

The appeal issued by the society quotes Lord Cromer as having said that domestic slavery "is only one degree less hateful than the abominable traffic in slaves." It submits that it would be "a grave departure from modern British Colonial practice to maintain a system of slavery from which men and women could only escape by establishing physical ill-treatment, or by making a monetary payment."

Arabic in the Sudan

A correspondent in the *Near East* writes of the importance of Arabic study at the School of Oriental Languages; he makes a plea for English as well. He says: "Throughout the whole of the Sudan a knowledge of Arabic is gradually spreading as the natural result of our occupation with Arabic-speaking officials and troops. It is possible that here again the language may undergo strange transformation in the course of its grafting process, and that the future may find Sudan Arabic a very distinct dialect of the mother tongue.

"I am inclined to think that it is rather a pity that the authorities do not make the study of English a compulsory class in the schools and colleges of the Sudan. The people are so quick to learn, and imparting a knowledge of English would be one of the very simplest methods of enabling the future generation of men to grasp and apply British measures of labour, education, and government. This, however, is a digression. But just as it is essential to the Englishman who hopes to deal successfully with Arabic-speaking natives, first to master their language, so, it would seem, we might equally apply the same reasoning on the other side.

"The Arabic of the Near Eastern lands, though it is referred to loosely as 'Arabic,' varies enormously in different countries. Here and there, however, we find curious instances of similarity of pronunciation cropping up in the least expected quarters. The vowel sounds of Egypt, for instance, disappear in adjacent countries, but crop up again in far Baghdad. It is curious, too, that there are certain words of

Arabic which are almost identical with those of pure Gaelic. *Sekkin* (knife) is, I have been informed, the word still in use among the Gaelic-speaking folk of Scotland, while other words also bear a closer family resemblance. It is probable, however, that this fact is due to coincidence or to the chance influence of an isolated traveller, rather than to any foundation of root. Words become altered in the most inexplicable way, as our own language bears witness, and only by exhaustive study can such points be determined beyond doubt. A school for the study of Oriental languages is one of the most excellent institutions which we could bestow upon the nation to-day, when, in the Near, the Middle, and the Far East there are signs of increasing necessity of a complete understanding with those nations which, after the war, will be more than ever closely in touch with British influence. The dream of the Esperantists was good, but it is better still to probe the hearts of the nations by learning to think in their own language. An international language might go far to rob the participating nations of their individuality, and that could never be good. Egypt, for instance, robbed of her individuality would be a nation lost, but a close study of her language enables us to understand the aspirations of her people and to apply our own knowledge where it is most needed and to her greatest benefit. A striking example of this is not wanting at the present moment when we look upon the work that is being so successfully accomplished in Egypt to-day by Sir Reginald Wingate, who knows her language almost as he knows his own."

Islam in East Africa

"When I first went out to visit the Mohammedans of Mombasa," says the Rev. G. W. Wright, "my reception was a very cold one. The work done in previous years by the Revs. W. E. Taylor and F. Burt had familiarized the Mohammedan with our presence and teaching. It had taken away the bitterness of Mohammedan hostility; yet there remained sufficient of it to lead to efforts to throw things at us as we left the market meetings. One lad seen to be talking to us, a lad who was keenly interested in our teaching, disappeared, and we have been unable to trace his whereabouts since. Another young fellow was driven from home because he would not cease coming to be taught. We found him a refuge. Afterwards he was taken forcibly in the public road away into the native town, was stripped, shaved, and warned of the terrible consequences which would follow if he continued with us. He is one of our ungraded agents now. After baptism and confirmation he was married to the daughter of one of our African clergy, the Rev. J. R. Deimler, of Rabai.

"A great change has come. A Mohammedan elder stopped with others to listen to us as we were preaching in the market. Afterwards we had a talk with him about the claims of the Gospel. Before going on his way he said, 'Formerly we Mohammedans had the power in Mombasa with the people; now it is passing over to you Christians.' This may not be strictly true, but it is interesting as coming from such a source. The Mohammedans must notice that whereas in 1906 we stood alone, just one young missionary, one old African pastor, Mr. Semler, and one teacher, Levi, less than ten years later we had with us a band of a score or more of young men, clean and well set up, who regularly came and stood with us. All these were able to read and sing. With them stood the young agent, Andrew Salimu, formerly one of themselves, now ready to stand out courageously and plead with his old friends in earnest tones to accept Christ as their Saviour."

The C. M. S. in Baghdad

The passing of Turkish rule from Baghdad is an event the full significance of which it will take some time to estimate. The April number of the *Church Missionary Review* contains an interesting article: "Baghdad: a Retrospect, a Warning, and a Challenge," from the pen of Dr. F. Johnson, who has been a C. M. S. missionary in Mohammedan lands since 1895 (at first in Palestine), and has spent the greater part of the last ten years in Baghdad. On Turkey joining the Central Powers in the war, Dr. Johnson was imprisoned for a time at Baghdad and Aleppo, but was released and came home early in 1915. The city has played an important part in the history of Islam. The Mohammedans of Mesopotamia are mainly Sunnis, but the Persian Mohammedans are of the Shiah sect and have an intense longing to visit the shrine of Hosein, a grandson of Mohammed, which stands on the battlefield of Kerbela, some eighty miles southwest of Baghdad. Kerbela to the devout pilgrim of Persia and Central Asia is what Jerusalem is to the devout Russian pilgrim. "See Kerbela and die," and "See Jerusalem and die," are the expression of corresponding sentiments. The ruins of ancient Babylon are scarcely fifty miles from Baghdad. The C. M. S. started work there in 1883, and a hospital was opened in 1886. Dr. Henry Martyn Sutton carried on the medical mission in Mesopotamia for twenty years. His name became a household word, not only in Baghdad but far and wide through Arabia. Almost from the beginning the work on its medical side has been self-supporting; that is, the working expenses have been covered by a small charge for medicines and fees for operations. It is hoped that the Society's missionaries may soon be able to resume work, not only at Baghdad, but also at Mosul, about 300 miles north, immediately opposite the ruins of ancient Nineveh.

When war broke our Dr. Johnson was engaged in building a large new hospital at Baghdad. It is known that nearly £400 worth of teak that had only just arrived from Burma was seized by the Turks. Three C. M. S. missionaries are in Mesopotamia, ready to go to Baghdad directly the Government gives permission; Dr. Stanley and Dr. Stones are with the Expeditionary Force, and Dr. Lavy is at Busreh (the Bussorah of the "Arabian Nights").

El-Areesh

We are indebted to *Mercy and Truth* for these notes on El-Areesh, by the Rev. Canon R. Sterling, M.B., B.S.:

"The capture of El-Areesh by the British forces was hailed by the inhabitants with exclamations of joy and gladness.

"Two years of Turkish occupation with the inevitable requisition would have reduced the people to a state of penury and starvation.

"The inhospitable nature of the surrounding country makes dependence upon Egypt and Syria for food supplies an imperative necessity—a fact of a great importance in the presence of a strict blockade.

"It is in reality a desert region on the confines of the 'waste howling wilderness,' isolated and inaccessible except from the sea.

"Great sand-dunes, towering at times into miniature mountains, stretch far inland, silent witnesses to the ceaseless drift of ages. Oftentimes in a severe sand-storm locomotion is almost an impossibility.

"The presence of numerous palm trees in the river-bed and along the coast alone redeem the scene from that of utter desolation.

"In striking contrast to the arid nature of the land in this district is the wonderful fertility of the plain that stretches northwards after the boundary is passed—a veritable Land of Promise. Some miles of orchards fringe the plain and the crops are generally luxuriant.

"The most imposing buildings in the town of El-Areesh are the old fort and the mosque which adjoins it.

"The C. M. S. buildings rank next in importance and stand in a spacious compound between the town and the sea.

"The inhabitants of the town are said to own about 5000 camels, and these 'ships of the desert' are used for purposes of transport in Egypt and Syria.

"Convoys of them are always to be seen moving north and south by day or night, according to the season of the year.

"Here and there traces are still to be seen of the old Roman occupation such as marble pillars, mosaics, and pottery.

"The population is exclusively Mohammedan and the habits of the people are simple and frugal.

"Gaza is the nearest large town—50,000 inhabitants—and is some sixty miles distant."

Missionary Work at El-Areesh

"About twelve years ago I opened a boys' school at the earnest request of the chief inhabitants of the town. The work prospered for some years until the religious officials began to take alarm at the spread of Christian truth. Opposition arose, and some of the young men suffered persecution.

"About this time a lady who had visited the town and knew of its needs offered to provide £50 a year for five years towards placing a nurse there.

"This substantial offer led us to secure the services of a trained nurse with a knowledge of Arabic, she being subsequently joined by a lady teacher.

"Another lady, a kind friend to the mission, built us a commodious house combined with dispensary and waiting-room.

"The outbreak of the war brought the activities of both nurse and teacher to a close, they having to leave on a British man-of-war within a fortnight of my last visit in August 1914.

"It is a promising sphere for missionary work and hitherto untouched by other workers.

"I fervently hope that our forces will be able to continue their progress towards the Holy Land. The people would certainly give them a hearty welcome. The Arabs in general have nothing but hostile feelings towards the Turk, under whose misrule they have suffered for centuries. I know that for years past all alike have evinced an ever-growing desire that the just and beneficent rule of Egypt might be extended to Palestine.

"What the condition of the people has been during the war, time alone will show; but it is to be feared that their lot has not been very different from that of the other subject races in Syria, Asia Minor and Armenia. Persecution, famine and pestilence have no doubt done their worst. Even during the time of her mobilization Turkey deprived the people to a large extent of their wealth and foodstuffs, so that the well-to-do were lamenting the fact that they had become poor.

"The Christian world has stood aghast at the awful destruction of the Christian races by the Turk, perpetrated in cold blood, as a systematic policy of extermination.

"If I remember rightly the following saying occurs in the Koran: 'Insurrection is worse than slaughter'—that is, where sedition exists the extermination of a people is justifiable. In this connection a learned sheikh once said to me: 'Where gangrene is present in a limb the only hope of life lies in amputation'—truly an inspired comment on the passage.

"Turkey, by her atrocities, has placed herself outside the pale of civilization, and her end is fast approaching. Her overthrow will be 'as life from the dead' to the Christian peoples throughout her lands and it will herald a new era of peace, security and righteousness for the Church of God."

The Moslems of Latin America

In the report of the Panama Congress, 1916, Vol. i treats of the survey and occupation. Our readers will remember an article which appeared in this quarterly on Islam in South America.* Supplementing the information there given we find these references: In Dutch Guiana the East Indian coolies, numbering 21,000 (perhaps more), are scattered along the whole coast of Surinam, as contracted or free laborers on farms, in factories, and at other occupations. The Hindus are largely in excess of the Mohammedans. Both the Roman Catholics, and the Moravians are working among them. The latter have a well-established mission among them numbering 300 Christians.

The Javanese, numbering 8,000, are mostly Mohammedans. The Moravians have a young Javanese mission numbering fifty Christians. These people are also to be found in all the districts, either as contract or free laborers.

In the British West Indies, Jamaica, considerable missionary work is done also for Moslems, especially at Trinidad. The British Wesleyans' operations also are extensive, reaching nearly to all the important islands, including the French, and Danish, chiefly among the Negroes, but including, too, the Hindu and Mohammedan East Indians, who are numerous in Trinidad.

The situation is not, however, altogether satisfactory and the report states: "Probably the chief task unfinished is that among the East Indians. The Anglican Training College for catechists has twenty-five of the latter in classes. Vigorous measures need to be taken. Hindu temples and Mohammedan mosques are rising in the capital itself. The Wesleyans hold services among these Indians at fifteen places, but have only one proper building of their own. Nearly 500 of the children are enrolled in Sunday schools."

A Mission to Moslems in South Africa

THERE is no part of the world in which a Moslem propaganda among Christians is being carried on with greater energy than in Cape Town. The Rev. S. Garabedian, who was formerly a missionary in India, has been working amongst Moslems in Cape Town for the last five years. He reports that by intermarriage and other means a number of Christian women and children have become Moslems, and that Christian children are in many cases being brought up as Moslems. In the course of an annual report he writes:

"On my arrival in Cape Town it took me some time to find out the exact needs and conditions of the people among whom we were to begin work; I was greatly surprised to find how different the method

*THE MOSLEM WORLD, Vol. VI (No. 2), p. 144 f.

of work among the Mohammedans of South Africa would have to be, as compared with other parts of the mission field.

"1. For a long time we have to be on the defensive, as Mohammedanism has claimed so many of the Christians, both of white and coloured.

"2. Mohammedanism has made a name for itself, and public opinion is most favourable to it.

"3. All Mohammedan homes are open, there is no seclusion of women; but there is a setback to this, in that there is not a Mohammedan home which has not at least one member who was once a Christian.

"4. Laws of marriage and adoption of Christian children by Mohammedans is a serious obstacle.

"The subject of the mission was brought before the provincial conference, and it was decided that a commission be appointed by the Bishop to thoroughly investigate this Mohammedan peril.

"Many cases of Christians who had become Mohammedan, and children (Christian) adopted by Mohammedans were reclaimed, and as the work became more widely known the numbers rapidly increased and the work became beyond the small number of two workers, and it will take the mission many years of hard work before we are able to say we have reclaimed all our own.

"In time, by experience, we found that the mission is in need more of women workers than of men, and we are happy to say that Miss E. M. Stollard very kindly offered her services to the mission as honorary worker, and has been a very active worker in the past two years; her work as fully qualified nurse is invaluable. We were able to rent a small house, where the lady worker lives, and where all lapsed women, girls or children from Mohamedanism can take temporary refuge until suitable arrangements are made, where also enquirers are taught and prepared for baptism.

"I am sorry to have to say nine months ago I met with a serious accident, and lost, by amputation, my right leg; but, thanks to Mr. Dimishky and Miss Stollard, who heroically overworked themselves, the work went on just the same.

"Up to date between four and five hundred cases have been successfully saved or reclaimed from Mohammedanism, about sixteen Indian Mohammedans baptized, and over twenty Malays. Many were born in Mohammedanism of one or both pervert Christian parents; some had been Mohammedan within the last fifteen or twenty years.

"The present war has been a set-back to the work of the mission; our funds have suffered badly, and this just when the work had begun to develop and look most hopeful. But for the grant given by S. P. G. we could not continue the work on the same scale as we are doing now. And until the mission is able to have women workers in each Mohammedan centre in the peninsula, it cannot be said the work is done as it should be."

A Moslem Convert in China

The following interesting story is told by the Rev. W. P. Pailing of Tsinanfu of the English Baptist Mission in their magazine *The Herald:*

"On the 30th of April, by a strange coincidence (as we afterwards discovered), exactly six months after he entered our new hospital as its first patient, it was my great joy and privilege to baptize Mr. Gin

Liang Foo. This young man of twenty-one had come to us a Mohammedan, and for a follower of Islam to turn to Christ, and to seek baptism and thus declare his new-found faith before men, means much in China.

"Mr. Gin's case is an exceptionally interesting one. During the old college-hospital régime, Dr. Balme tells me, he was called to see an old Mohammedan Mullah who was suffering from acute blood-poisoning. After much persuasion, on being allowed to have his own special cooking utensils and have his food prepared according to Mohammedan rites, the Mullah came into the old hospital, where under the care of the doctors and one of the students who assiduously dressed his wounds several times a day and paid great attention to him, the old man recovered and became a firm friend of the hospital.

"Some time afterwards he reported that a friend of his was ill and would like to have treatment, so in this way Mr. Gin was introduced to us by his uncle. It was found that he was suffering from a tuberculous toe, and he was admitted to the hospital on the 23rd of June, 1914. He remained with us until the 3rd May, 1915, when he decided to return home, although not completely recovered. During the few months he spent at home, the disease broke out in the knee, and on the 21st August, 1915, he was again brought to the hospital in an almost hopeless condition. Dr. Balme amputated the leg as the only possible hope of saving the young fellow's life; although for a week or more he just hung between life and death, by skilful treatment he managed to pull through. At the present time his leg is almost healed, so that he hopes to return to his home in a short time.

"His case certainly proves the great worth of medical missions in reaching certain sections of the people; had it not been for the old Mullah receiving medical treatment Mr. Gin would never have come into touch with missions and would have lived and died "without Christ"; in that case China and many of his Chinese brethren (for we believe that this young man is going to be greatly used by God) would have been infinitely poorer.

"Month after month in the old college hospital he nightly listened to the good news of Him who is Life indeed. The gospel message took root in this young man's heart, and as he searched the Scriptures and eagerly listened to the messages given at the ward-services, the dawn of the love of Christ appeared on his life's horizon, soon to be followed by the full noonday sun. The Saviour of the world had reclaimed another of His 'other sheep.'

"Soon after I came to Tsinanfu in November last, it was my joy to go into the wards to get acquainted with some of the patients. Dr. Balme asked me to talk to Mr. Gin, and I found him extremely friendly. One night I ventured to hazard the question as to whether he liked to read the Gospel or not, when to my great joy he told me with beaming face, that he had learned of Christ in the old building, had accepted Him and had been a disciple for some time, although he had not hitherto cared to tell any of the doctors of this fact. It is needless to add what great joy this news brought to us all.

"Some of my happiest hours in China have been spent by the bedside of this delightful young fellow: but Mr. Gin, having found Christ for himself, like Andrew of old, feels constrained to go and seek his brother too. He has persuaded his mother, brother, and two sisters (his father is dead) to examine the 'tao-li' for themselves, and he informed me some time ago that they too are becoming interested, for they have seen the great change Christ has produced in him. On

many occasions when I have entered the wards, I have found that he has walked with the aid of his crutches to the bedside of some fellow-patient and there occupied himself in teaching him a hymn, reading some passage from the Gospels, or talking to him of Christ; while on one occasion when a student failed to turn up to take the ward-service, rather than have no service in the ward that night, Mr. Gin himself sat on the table to conduct the service, and, I afterwards heard, gave quite a good talk on one of the parables.

"On Christmas Day, as I sat beside his bed during service, it made one's soul thrill as one listened to this man singing the Christmas hymns from the very depth of his heart, and eagerly drinking in the Christmas message.

"Some three months ago he expressed the desire to be baptized, feeling that he must confess his Lord before men, and asked me if I would administer the ordinance; so after some weeks of study together, he presented himself for examination with a number of other candidates. To his great joy he was one of the nine candidates accepted for baptism, so on Sunday morning, April 30th, in our chapel here, Mr. Gin was the first of five Chinese Christians whom it was my privilege to baptize. We had a short service and a brief address, after which Mr. Gin stepped down into the water and declared before men that henceforth he was Christ's and Christ was his.

"When he leaves us he will be missed by us all, but is he going to leave us? Only last week he told me that he hopes to take a course at our theological college in order to train to become a native evangelist. I asked him if he knew that an evangelist's allowance is very small, whereupon he immediately replied: 'That is not important, but the doctrine of Jesus is most important.' He is just burning with the desire to take the knowledge of Christ to other souls, and during the remainder of his stay with us, he is going to help us by taking some of the ward-services in his own ward."

Linking India to Persia

An important stage in the development of India's communications with Persia was reached a few months ago by the arrival of the first train at Dalbandin, to which post on the Seistan trade route the railway from Quetta by way of Nushki has recently been completed. Baldankin is in the Chagai district of Baluchistan, 201 miles from Quetta and 110 miles from Nushki by the old trade route.

Mecca and Medina

Almost for the first time in the history of Islam we might write Mecca *vs.* Medina. Yet, according to *The Near East*,

"The new kingdom of Hejaz is doing good work in acting as the medium of enlightenment to the Moslem world at large with regard to Turkey's overt repudiation of Islam. In the past, the Arab papers admit, the Arabs have shut their eyes to much that was taking place in Constantinople from the belief that their revelations would do harm to Islam; but now that events have gone so far, it is right that the Turks, or at least the Committee of Union and Progress, should be seen in their true colours. The predominance of the Committee, it is pointed out, involves grave perils to the Moslem religion, in view of their heterodoxy, their avowed contempt for the Prophet and the Sacred Law, and, by no means least of all, 'the fact that they have brought German officers to Medina to work the destruction of the Prophet's line in the Holy Places themselves.' From Medina itself

comes a special appeal to the King of the Hejaz to save the tomb of the Prophet from imminent profanation and destruction at the hands of the Unionists and their German coadjutors. Two Germans, it is stated—the editor of the *Ottoman Lloyd* and the Constantinople correspondent of the *Berliner Tageblatt*—have already been introduced into the sacred precincts, 'and from the known principles and practice of the Unionists the worst is to be apprehended.' King Hussein must be looking eagerly northwards in the hope of seeing his hands strengthened by a British success in Syria which will cut the communications of the Turkish garrison in Medina."

Africa after the War

In one of our book reviews in this number the reader will see how Dr. Gibbons has rendered a great service in drawing for us a new map of Africa. His book undoubtedly shows that all the European nations have been blunderers and that none can consider the other blacker than itself. *The Dial* in a review states:

"Granting the premise that Africa cannot be left to evolve a civilization of its own, Dr. Gibbons ends with a strong plea for Germany. He succeeds in proving that the successful efforts of the other powers to keep Germany out of Africa have been largely responsible for the suspicious, exasperated, and at last pugnacious growth of German thought, educated—as is the political thought of all the nations—by a few men who are able to lead public opinion in the direction opposite to that the public itself intends. He says that the Allies have expressly undertaken to uphold Belgium's rights on the Congo, and those of Portugal in both East and West; but he distinctly raises a doubt as to their intention to keep faith with Portugal, and he leaves the reader wondering whether—should the Allies win the war—their wisest, safest, sanest course would not be to hand over the Congo and the Portuguese possessions *en bloc* to Germany." In this connection we heartily endorse the belief of *The New York Times*, Friday, December 15, 1916. "When the peace terms come to be considered, hardly anything in them will have a mightier effect on the future of the human race than what is done about Africa. Africa will not always play the subordinate part in the world's affairs she is playing now. Her position to-day resembles that of the North American Continent at the time of the Declaration of Independence. Great empires will arise there, are beginning now, and Macaulay's New Zealander looking down on the ruins of London may not come from New Zealand. The opening up of Africa has really been a matter of only about forty years, and in that short time since her great wealth and possibilities were appreciated the carving out of the sites of future nations has gone on with a breathless and feverish haste never seen before on earth. The terms of peace will undoubtedly help to decide the future destiny of what will become the home of a great part of the race." There is no part of the world that calls for more earnest intercession than Africa.

Educational Progress among Bengal Mohammedans

In a recent resolution on the progress of education in Bengal during 1915–1916, published by the Provincial government, it is interesting to note that there was a substantial increase in the number of Mohammedan pupils in schools from 803,589 to 824,250. Also for every five boys there was one Mohammedan girl.

SURVEY OF RECENT PERIODICALS

III. HISTORY OF ISLAM UP TILL RECENT TIMES

The Confusion between Hamida Bano Begam (Maryam-Makani) Akbar's Mother, and Haji Begam or Bega Begam, the senior widow of Humayam. Vincent A. Smith. *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.* London. July 1917.

Turkey—a Past and a Future. *The Round Table.* London. June 1917.

Studies of: i. A Coat of many Colours. ii. Turkish Economics. iii. German Policy. iv. The American Missions and Armenia. v. Syria and Palestine. vi. Northern and Southern Mesopotamia.

V. RELIGIOUS AND SOCIAL LIFE OF ISLAM

Among the Arabs near the Persian Gulf. P. W. Harrison, M.D. *International Review of Missions.* July 1917.

The third of a series of papers on Realities of Missionary Life, dealing especially with the experiences of a medical missionary to Arabs. Without minimising the difficulties of his work, the author is deeply impressed by "the splendid stuff the non-Christian races are made of."

Neuzeitliche Strömungen im Niederländisch-Indischen Islam. Gustav Simon. *Allgemeine Missions Zeitschrift.* März 1917.

Un Ete a Salonique. Madame Marcelle Tinayre. *Revue des Deux Mondes.* Paris. Juin 1, 1917.

Includes an interesting section on the extent of French influence in the Near East and especially the French schools under religious and secular management.

The Challenge of Islam in Africa. V–VII. *Foreign Field.* London. April–June 1917.

Studies for class meetings on "Islam and Womanhood in Egypt," "A Muhammadan University," "How Islam Comes to a West African Village."

VI. POLITICAL RELATIONSHIPS

Methods of Ascendency: I. Belgium, II. Bohemia, III. The Ottoman Empire. *The Round Table.* London. March 1917.

The Destiny of the Turkish Straits. Noel Buxton, M.D. *The Contemporary.* June 1917.

After sketching the change in Russia's attitude towards the question of the Russian annexation of Constantinople, an outline is given of the treaties and events which led up to the present status of the Straits. A strong plea is made for an international commission which shall govern a small independent State forever neutral with its centre in Constantinople and its integrity guaranteed by treaties "enduring and binding" on all the Powers.

VII. HISTORY OF MOHAMMEDAN MISSIONS

Shepard of Aintab. Stephen Trowbridge, *Men and Missions.* June 1917.

An account of the wonderful life and service of Dr. Fred D. Shepard of Aintab, Turkey, as a medical missionary of the American Board for 34 years. "There was no barrier between him and the hardhanded plowman of the plain. Equally to the multitude of Mohammedans in the central provinces and to the Christian craftsmen and tradesmen of the towns, this doctor with the iron will became known simply as 'Shippert.' And in these two short syllables which came to be more than a private name—almost a generic word for all American missionaries— there was spontaneously expressed a strong love and devotion on the part of a million people."

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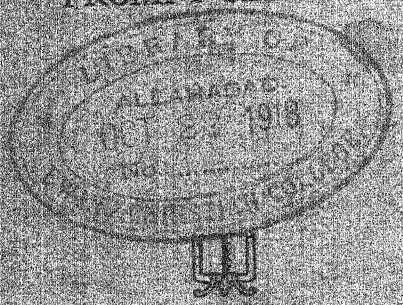
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